

Weekly Compilation of  
**Presidential  
Documents**



Monday, August 14, 2000  
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**Editor's Note:** The President was in Los Angeles, CA, on August 11, the closing date of this issue. Releases and announcements issued by the Office of the Press Secretary but not received in time for inclusion in this issue will be printed next week.

### WEEKLY COMPILATION OF

### PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS

Published every Monday by the Office of the Federal Register, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC 20408, the *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* contains statements, messages, and other Presidential materials released by the White House during the preceding week.

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Week Ending Friday, August 11, 2000

**Notice—Continuation of Emergency  
Regarding Export Control  
Regulations**

*August 3, 2000*

On August 19, 1994, consistent with the authority provided me under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*), I issued Executive Order 12924. In that order, I declared a national emergency with respect to the unusual and extraordinary threat to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States in light of the expiration of the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 2401 *et seq.*). Because the Export Administration Act has not been renewed by the Congress, the national emergency declared on August 19, 1994, must continue in effect beyond August 19, 2000. Therefore, in accordance with section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), I am continuing the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12924.

This notice shall be published in the *Federal Register* and transmitted to the Congress.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
August 3, 2000.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,  
8:45 a.m., August 7, 2000]

NOTE: This notice was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 4, and it was published in the *Federal Register* on August 8. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders on  
Continuation of the National  
Emergency With Respect to the  
Lapse of the Export Administration  
Act of 1979**

*August 3, 2000*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)*

On August 19, 1994, in light of the expiration of the Export Administration Act of 1979, as amended (50 U.S.C. App. 2401 *et seq.*), I issued Executive Order 12924, declaring a national emergency and continuing the system of export regulation under the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*). Under section 202(d) of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1622(d)), the national emergency terminates on the anniversary date of its declaration unless the President publishes in the *Federal Register* and transmits to the Congress a notice of its continuation.

I am hereby advising the Congress that I have extended the national emergency declared in Executive Order 12924. Enclosed is a copy of the notice of extension.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Albert Gore, Jr., President of the Senate. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 4. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

**Letter to Congressional Leaders  
Transmitting a Report on Cyprus**

*August 3, 2000*

*Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)*

In accordance with Public Law 95-384 (22 U.S.C. 2373(c)), I submit to you this report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question covering the period

April 1–May 31, 2000. The previous submission covered events during February and March 2000.

Following President Clerides' surgery in early May, the United Nations rescheduled the recommencement of Cyprus talks for July 5 in Geneva. Despite this delay, U.S. officials remained actively engaged in efforts to bring about a comprehensive Cyprus settlement based on a bizonal, bicomunal federation. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright underscored the United States commitment to a Cyprus solution with her Greek and Turkish counterparts in early May.

Special Presidential Emissary Alfred H. Moses, Special Cyprus Coordinator Thomas G. Weston, and U.S. Ambassador to Cyprus Donald K. Bandler reinforced these messages with the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot leadership and urged all parties to support positive movement in the United Nations-sponsored talks.

Sincerely,

**William J. Clinton**

NOTE: Identical letters were sent to J. Dennis Hastert, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Jesse Helms, chairman, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. This letter was released by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 4. This item was not received in time for publication in the appropriate issue.

### **Remarks at a Reception for Hillary Clinton in Nantucket, Massachusetts** *August 4, 2000*

**The President.** When Smith started that story I didn't know where it was going. [Laughter] I thought he was going to say he called a surgeon or something.

Let me say, first of all, I am delighted to be back here. I had a wonderful time last year, and Hillary and I came back. Chelsea came with us this year. Just took a tour of Nantucket, and it's a beautiful place. And I want to thank all of you for coming out here tonight to help.

You know, we just finished the Republican Convention, and now it's our turn. And one thing that we apparently agree on—they did agree that the country was in good shape. [Laughter] And I appreciated that act of un-

common generosity on their part. [Laughter] We disagree on how it happened—[laughter]—and on what to do with it. I say that—I like to hear you laugh. I like to hear them laugh more. [Laughter] I mean, we need to lighten up here. But on the other hand, we need to be more serious about the election.

I actually think this is a great opportunity for the American people because we don't have to say bad things about our opponents as people. And if I have anything to do with it, the Democrats won't do that. I don't like it. I've never liked it, and we don't need it. All we need to do is to give the American people the chance to have an honest debate over the issues, what are the differences and what are the consequences of the election.

But if I could just say three or four things. First, I am profoundly grateful for the chance that I've had to serve. It's been a joy. Even the bad days were good, and the fights were worth making—if I had to fight it all again, I'd do it all again.

**Audience member.** Thank you.

**The President.** And secondly, when we ran in '92, we had a very clear strategy. I didn't have any idea if it would work or not. I mean, when I started, the incumbent President was at 70-something percent approval, but the country was not in good shape. And so I actually laid out to the American people in great detail what it was I would try to do if I were fortunate enough to be elected.

And I tried to make it a campaign of ideas, committed to change, but change rooted in endless American values, opportunity for everybody who is responsible, and a community in which all Americans can be a part. And it's worked pretty well. I mean, we voted in '93 to get rid of the deficit, and the lower interest rates led to a boom in the stock market and lower interest rates and getting rid of the—and more jobs, and you know the rest. It's worked pretty well.

Last year I couldn't say this, but now we've had the longest economic expansion in our history and over 22 million new jobs. So if it worked, and you have evidence, then the question is, which course is more likely to keep this going and to spread the benefits of the recovery to the people in places who still aren't part of it?

When I became President, the crime rate was going up. Now it's gone down for 7 years. We put 100,000 police on the street. We took assault weapons off the street. We passed the Brady background check law, and it plainly had a big impact on the crime rate. And so if there's a difference in crime policy, you have to decide, since America is nowhere near safe enough, which strategy is more likely to keep the crime rate coming down.

When we tried to do welfare reform, I had to veto a couple of bills first, but then we said, "Okay, able-bodied people ought to go to work, but the kids ought to be able to keep their guarantee of medical care and nutrition." And the welfare rolls have been cut in half, and all the horror stories that some people predicted haven't materialized because we went out of our way to give people, that we were requiring to work, the education, the transportation, and the support to be good parents so that it would work. And so you have to decide what you think is best for low income people and how to empower them to go to work.

The same is true in health care; the same is true in the environment. Somebody came up to me tonight and asked me to sign a picture of the Grand Canyon, and I was saying we just set aside another million acres around the Grand Canyon to protect the watershed. And Al Gore and I have now set aside more land in the lower 48 States than any administration in history except those of Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt.

And the other side is on record as to committing to repeal my order setting aside 43 million roadless acres in the national forests. The Audubon Society says it's the most significant conservation move in 40 years. So you get to decide which you think is better.

And I'd just like to say that for me—I'm not running for anything this year—[*laughter*]*—*and most days I'm okay about it. [*Laughter*] But I care a great deal about what we're going to do with this moment of prosperity. Let me just mention one other issue. In education, our theory was have fewer regulations but higher standards; invest more, require more—more preschool, more after-school, smaller classes, better trained teachers—and a strategy to turn around failing

schools; and then open the doors of college to everybody.

Well, test scores are up. The dropout rate's down. The African-American high school graduation rate equaled the white majority rate last year, for the first time in history. And we have record numbers of people going to college. So we have a strategy about that, and there will be differences, and you have to decide which you think is right.

But all this is just to say, the most important thing to me—all these races I've run since 1974, I used to have a simple theory which is that I wanted to make sure that on the election day, every person who did not vote for me knew exactly what he or she was doing. Because I always felt that if I lost, then I would have no complaint, that if the people who voted for you and the people who voted against you knew exactly what they were doing, I would have no complaint.

Therefore, I think it's important for people like you who come here to help Hillary to make a commitment that goes beyond writing a check, because you're obviously interested citizens. And what I think you should do is to go out between now and November at every conceivable opportunity and say, "Isn't it nice that we can have an election where we don't have to run down our opponents, where we can posit that they're good, patriotic people, that they love our country, that they will do what they believe in, and all we have to do is to ask ourselves, what do we want to do with this moment of prosperity?"

It is literally unprecedented in our country's history that we would have at once so much economic prosperity, so much social progress, with the absence of crippling internal crisis at home or overpowering threat abroad. So what is it that we're going to do with it?

More than half the people in this audience are younger than I am, and a huge number of you have more years ahead of you than you do behind you. What is it that we propose to do with this? It is a huge question. And that—my experience is that very often the answer you get in an election depends upon the questions people ask in the first place. Or to be blunter, who wins the Presidency, who wins the Senate race in New

York, who wins a lot of these other elections depends upon what the people really believe the election is about.

And we have a chance, literally unprecedented in our lifetime, to build the future of our dreams for our children. But it requires us not to be complacent with our prosperity but to look over the horizon, to take on the big challenges, to seize the big opportunities.

I tell everybody who will listen that there are four reasons I think Al Gore ought to be President. He's been the best Vice President in history and had more influence in that job than anybody ever had. He's got an economic program that will work instead of one that will spend the whole surplus on a tax cut today when the surplus hasn't materialized yet. I tell everybody that our proposal is cut taxes but only to the extent that we can afford it and still invest in education, provide a prescription drug benefit for people on Medicare, and keep paying the debt down. So that will keep interest rates low, which is a de facto tax cut, and prosperity going.

And so if you have a tax cut that essentially takes the whole projected surplus away—I can make you a good speech for it. I can say, "We're going to have this big surplus, and it's your money, not the Government's. And we're going to give it back to you." Sounds good, doesn't it? Except it hasn't come in yet. It's kind of like—did you ever get one of those letters from Ed McMahon and Publishers Clearing House? [*Laughter*] Think about it. "You may have won \$10 million." Now, if you went out the next day and spent the \$10,000, you should support their program. But otherwise, you ought to stick with us and keep this thing going. [*Laughter*] So that's the second reason that I think it's important.

The third reason that I'm for Al Gore is that he understands the future, whether it's information technology or the human genome project or global warming. They made fun of him in '88—I mean, when he wrote the book. They made fun of him in '92 when we ran. Now even the oil company executives say global warming is real. It could change the climate of the whole world. It could flood the sugarcane fields in Louisiana and the Ev-

erglades in Florida we've worked so hard to save, and change the pattern of agriculture in the United States. And already you see in Africa malaria at higher and higher altitudes because of the warming of the climate.

One of the biggest problems we've got—many of you mentioned the Middle East peace process to me. One of the biggest struggles we're going to have is to figure out how to provide water for all the people who live there, because of climate change. And I don't know about you, but if that's really a big issue, I'd like someone in the White House that understood it.

And that's not an insult; that's a plus for Gore. That's not a criticism of his opponents. There's nobody that understands that in public life as much as he does. That should not be interpreted as a criticism of his opponent; it's a plus for him.

Look, all your medical and financial records are on somebody's computer somewhere. Don't you think that we ought to have somebody in the White House that really understands what the privacy issues are? It's going to be wonderful—all the young women in this audience, when you start having babies, when you go home and within 5 to 10 years, you'll take a little genetic map home with your baby. It will tell you: Here are the problems your baby has, but if you do the following five things, you will increase the chance that the child will have a great life.

There are young women in this audience tonight who will have babies with a life expectancy of 90 years. That's not an exaggeration. But it seems to me that we ought to have somebody there that understands whether somebody ought to be denied a job or a promotion or health insurance based on their gene card. We need somebody that really understands the future.

And the last thing is, we ought to have somebody that will take us all along for the ride. That's what the hate crimes bill, the minimum wage, the employment non-discrimination bill—that's what all that stuff's all about. Should we all go along for the ride or not. And I presume that all of you believe that or you wouldn't be here. Otherwise—because the other guys are going to give you a bigger tax cut than we are. [*Laughter*] But

we'll give you lower interest rates and a better stock market. You'll make more anyway. But I think we ought to all go along for the ride.

So now, that brings me to Hillary—[*laughter*]*—and this reason: It is very hard for me to say anything that is not either sappy, or I'm always afraid I'll be over the top and ineffective here.*

But let me just tell you. I've been President for nearly 8 years now. It really matters who is in the Senate. There is a gentleman here that I went to college with who is from South Dakota. We were bragging about Tom Daschle and how I couldn't have functioned the last 5 years without him, and it's really true.

Many of you came up to me tonight and said, "I'm so glad not only what you did but what you stopped—all the attempts to weaken the environment and all the attempts to weaken our economic policy or cut education or do other things, all the things that were stopped over the last 5 years." Well, it really matters who is in the Congress and, especially, who is in the Senate. They get to vote on the confirmation of judges, and if they don't want to bring them up, they don't. So I've tried for 7½ years to get an African-American judge in the southeastern part of the United States. There's never been one before. But their side doesn't want one, so we've got two perfectly well-qualified people that I still can't get confirmed.

There's an Hispanic-American who grew up in El Paso and graduated summa cum laude from Harvard. The ABA gives him unanimous high ratings. I can't even get him a hearing in the Senate because he's not part of what they think the bench ought to be about.

Senators make a difference. The next President will appoint two to four judges to the Supreme Court. The Senate will confirm them. And whether you like it or not, when you vote for President and you vote for Senate, you better think about that, because the balance of the Supreme Court will change. And you have to assume that any President you vote for and any Senator you vote for will vote and appoint his or her convictions. You have to assume that.

The most important thing that I think that I could say to you about Hillary is two things. One is, this is just the last in a long line of lifetime public service for her. When I met her in 1971, when she wasn't old enough to vote, but I was—[*laughter*]*—when I met her in 1971, she was already involved with the Yale Child Studies Center and issues of children's health care, children's education, family law. She took an extra year in law school to work at the Yale hospital in the Child Studies Center so that she would not have not only a law degree but a clear background in the legal issues affecting children's health and children's welfare, before anybody else was doing it—that kind of thing.*

Her first job out of law school was at what became the Children's Defense Fund, where she later served as chair of the board. Her first project, when I was elected Governor of Arkansas, was to build a neonatal nursery at the Children's Hospital in Little Rock. And when I left office, in my little home State, that was the seventh biggest children's hospital in the United States of America, and she ran the fundraising there. She founded an advocacy group for children and families when we were living in Arkansas, and then when she came up here, she took up the cause of children's health care, our education reforms. She led the way to a total revision of the laws affecting adoption, cross-racial adoption, and what happens to foster care kids and how to improve their welfare. Things at a level of details unheard of for First Ladies to be involved in. And along the way, she found time to host conferences on early childhood and brain development, children and violence, and a lot of other things.

And then this year, she ran our millennium program for the last 2 years, which the gentleman who is the head of the National Historic Preservation Trust told me that Hillary's millennium program, which has now gotten \$100 million for the preservation for American treasures, slightly over half public money, the rest private, was the largest, single historic preservation effort in the history of the United States of America.

So when Senator Moynihan announced he wasn't going to run again and all these Democratic House Members came and asked her to run, I can promise you, it had



never occurred to her before, because we assumed he was going to run, and we would support him.

And so she started traveling around New York. And she found out, A, she kind of liked it, and B—not liked New York; she kind of liked politics; she knew she liked New York; she liked politics—[laughter]—and B, she found out that people understood that what they needed in a Senator was somebody that would put their families first and think of their children's future and make the most of this moment of prosperity, which allows me to close this circle here.

I cannot tell you—again, I'll say—no American who has not been where I am can possibly appreciate the importance of every single Senate seat—nobody. And I can tell you this. I knew, and I told her when we started, that we would have a hard fight the first time. But if she wins in November—and I'm convinced she will—she'll never have a close race again, because she'll be the best Senator they ever had.

And I said something here last year I will say again. I have been privileged in my life, over, almost 30 years in public life now, to work with hundreds of people. I have known some magnificent leaders around the world, I have known some wonderful public servants. I have never felt the kind of personal animosity for people in the other party that some of them seem to feel for us from time to time, because I wouldn't be able to get up in the morning if I was that torn up and upset all the time. [Laughter] And I basically like people in public life. I've found most of them are smart and honest and work hard and do what they think is right.

But of all the people I have ever known, bar none, she has the best combination of heart, compassion, brains, and just plain old stick-to-itiveness, persistence. And you need that in a Senator. So you've helped her tonight, and if you can do anything between now and November, I'll be very, very grateful.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:10 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to reception host Smith Bagley; Enrique Moreno, judicial nominee, U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit; Ed McMahon, spokesperson, Publishers

Clearing House Sweepstakes; and Richard Moe, president, National Trust for Historic Preservation. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

## The President's Radio Address

August 5, 2000

Good morning. Seven years ago this month we set out on a course to eliminate the deficit, invest in education, and open markets for American products overseas. By sticking to that path, we have turned record budget deficits into record surpluses and produced the longest economic expansion in history, over 22 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in 30 years, the lowest welfare rolls in 30 years, the lowest minority unemployment rate on record. Income taxes for the typical family are the lowest now in 35 years, and we're on track to achieve something unimaginable a few years ago, a debt-free America by 2012.

Now, this is the right path for America. A path that allows us to pay down the debt, lengthen the life of Social Security and Medicare, keep investing in education, and cut taxes for middle class families. We can't retreat from this opportunity of a lifetime to keep our economy strong and move our country forward. That's why I'm vetoing legislation that represents the first installment of a fiscally reckless tax strategy.

Today's economic progress is the direct result of a commitment to commonsense, kitchen-table values, responsibility and fairness, putting first things first, not spending what we don't have, looking out for our children's future. To stay true to these values, I've consistently vowed to veto tax breaks that abandon our pledge of fiscal discipline. For without this commitment, we wouldn't have a surplus today; we wouldn't be paying down the debt; we wouldn't have lower interest rates, which have led to record business investment and an effective tax cut for typical families—\$2,000 in lower home mortgage payments, \$200 less in car payments, \$200 less in student loan payments.

Now once again, in spite of all this evidence, America is being asked to turn back. On Capitol Hill, the Republican majority has passed a series of expensive tax breaks to

drain nearly a trillion dollars from the projected surplus. On the campaign trail, they are proposing over another trillion dollars in tax giveaways.

If they support both the tax cuts this year and the tax cuts of their Republican Presidential campaign, they would drain over \$2 trillion from the projected surplus. And that's just what it is, projected; it's not money in the bank.

Even by Congress' own optimistic estimates, their total tax breaks would put us back into deficits. That means higher interest rates, which is like another tax increase on ordinary Americans.

So I asked the Republican leadership, do you really stand behind this \$2 trillion tax cut strategy? If so, how do you justify leaving nothing for Social Security or Medicare, nothing for a new Medicare prescription drug benefit or education? And how will we ever make America debt free?

Now let me be clear. I support tax cuts but tax cuts we can afford. We can't afford a \$2 trillion U-turn on the path of fiscal discipline and economic progress. That is not the way to continue our efforts to use these good times for great goals.

For 7½ years we've achieved those great goals in the economy, in education, in welfare reform, in health care, in crime, in the environment, in building one America. If we want to keep making progress, we've got to keep making good choices. And committing 100 percent of the surplus, that may or may not materialize, to tax cuts is not a good choice. There is a better way.

Earlier this summer, I made an offer to the Republican leadership that I would sign a marriage penalty relief law if they would pass an affordable, voluntary Medicare prescription drug benefit available to all seniors and disabled Americans who need it. Unfortunately, they rejected my offer. They've got another chance, though. When they come back, we can work together for a middle class tax cut to help Americans send their children to college, provide long-term care for elderly or disabled relatives, make child care more affordable, provide targeted marriage penalty tax relief. We can do that and still pay off the debt, strengthen Social Security and Medicare, create a voluntary Medicare pre-

scription drug benefit, and invest in education. We can do this. And that's what we ought to do. We ought to keep interest rates down and save the future for our children.

Let's not squander the surplus or this moment. Let's keep our economy strong, provide affordable tax relief, and extend our prosperity into the future. Let's do it together.

Thanks for listening.

NOTE: The address was recorded at 12:18 p.m. on August 4 in the Map Room at the White House for broadcast at 10:06 a.m. on August 5. The transcript was made available by the Office of the Press Secretary on August 4 but was embargoed for release until the broadcast.

### **Message to the House of Representatives Returning Without Approval the "Marriage Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2000"**

*August 5, 2000*

*To the House of Representatives:*

I am returning herewith without my approval H.R. 4810, the "Marriage Tax Relief Reconciliation Act of 2000," because it is poorly targeted and one part of a costly and regressive tax plan that reverses the principle of fiscal responsibility that has contributed to the longest economic expansion in history.

My Administration supports marriage penalty relief and has offered a targeted and fiscally responsible proposal in our fiscal year 2001 budget to provide it. However, I must oppose H.R. 4810. Combined with the numerous other tax bills approved by the Congress this year and supported by the congressional majority for next year, it would drain away the projected surplus that the American people have worked so hard to create. Even by the Congressional Budget Office's more optimistic projection, this tax plan would plunge America back into deficit and would leave nothing for lengthening the life of Social Security or Medicare; nothing for voluntary and affordable Medicare prescription drug benefits; nothing for education and school construction. Moreover, the congressional majority's tax plan would make it impossible for us to get America out of debt by 2012.

H.R. 4810 would cost more than \$280 billion over 10 years if its provisions were permanent, making it significantly more expensive than either of the bills originally approved by the House and the Senate. It is poorly targeted toward delivering marriage penalty relief—only about 40 percent of the cost of H.R. 4810 actually would reduce marriage penalties. It also provides little tax relief to those families that need it most, while devoting a large fraction of its benefits to families with higher incomes.

Taking into account H.R. 4810, the fiscally irresponsible tax cuts passed by the House Ways and Means Committee this year provide about as much benefit to the top 1 percent of Americans as to the bottom 80 percent combined. Families in the top 1 percent get an average tax break of over \$16,000, while a middle-class family gets only \$220 on average. But if interest rates went up because of the congressional majority's plan by even one-third of one percent, then mortgage payments for a family with a \$100,000 mortgage would go up by \$270, leaving them worse off than if they had no tax cut at all.

We should have tax cuts this year, but they should be the right ones, targeted to working families to help our economy grow—not tax breaks that will help only a few while putting our prosperity at risk. I have proposed a program of targeted tax cuts that will give a middle-class American family substantially more benefits than the Republican plan at less than half the cost. Including our carefully targeted marriage penalty relief, two-thirds of the relief will go to the middle 60 percent of American families. Our tax cuts will also help to send our children to college, with a tax deduction or 28 percent tax credit for up to \$10,000 in college tuition a year; help to care for family members who need long-term care, through a \$3,000 long-term care tax credit; help to pay for child care and to ease the burden on working families with three or more children; and help to fund desperately needed school construction.

And because our plan will cost substantially less than the tax cuts passed by the Congress, we'll still have the resources we need to provide a Medicare prescription drug benefit; to extend the life of Social Security and Medicare; and to pay off the debt by 2012—

so that we can keep interest rates low, keep our economy growing, and provide lower home mortgage, car, and college loan payments for the American people.

This surplus comes from the hard work and ingenuity of the American people. We owe it to them to make the best use of it—for all of them, and for our children's future.

Since the adjournment of the Congress has prevented my return of H.R. 4810 within the meaning of Article I, section 7, clause 2 of the Constitution, my withholding of approval from the bill precludes its becoming law. *The Pocket Veto Case*, 279 U.S. 655 (1929). In addition to withholding my signature and thereby invoking my constitutional power to "pocket veto" bills during an adjournment of the Congress, to avoid litigation, I am also sending H.R. 4810 to the House of Representatives with my objections, to leave no possible doubt that I have vetoed the measure.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
August 5, 2000.

**Remarks at a Dinner for Lieutenant Governor Kathleen Kennedy Townsend of Maryland in Hyannis Port, Massachusetts**

*August 5, 2000*

Well, thank you very much. I've had a wonderful time. When I saw what a big crowd it was, I thought I had come to the wrong place. I thought you were just having a family reunion. [Laughter] I wanted to come here for a long time, and I'm honored to be here for Kathleen. I have said—every time I go to Maryland I say she is the finest Lieutenant Governor in America by a long stretch, but it is clearly true.

You heard Mark say this, but I came here not only because of my friendship for her and so many members of her family but because she did make Maryland the first State in the country to require community service for graduation from high school. That meant something to me. And she and Governor Glendening were out there on the frontlines fighting for gun safety legislation when the

NRA was trying to beat their brains out and beat our brains out, and I haven't succeeded in Congress yet, but they did succeed in Maryland in passing sweeping gun safety legislation. And she deserves a lot of credit for it.

And I can say so much else about her, but I admire her so much. And she and her husband and her kids, they're the kind of family that we ought to lift up in America. And I look forward to her elevation, and who knows, maybe someday I'll be knocking on doors for her when she's running for national office. I'd like to do that.

Now, let me say—Ethel, you may have to put me up tonight—[*laughter*—and if so, that would tickle me, because Ethel's been sending me these raunchy Valentine cards for years. [*Laughter*] And I'm completely in love with her, and I keep trying to get some tabloid to write something sleazy about it, and I haven't been able to so far. [*Laughter*]

But the reason you may have to put me up tonight is, on the way out, Hillary said, "You're going to this fundraiser for Kathleen tonight." I said, "Yes." And she said, "And last week you went to one for Patrick." I said, "Yes." She said, "And a couple of weeks ago you went to one for Teddy." She said, "But it's your wife that's running for Senator from New York in 90 days"—[*laughter*—"where it costs \$30 million-plus to run." She said, "Maybe they'll just put you up tonight." [*Laughter*] And then she said she was glad I was going and wished she could be here. But I thank you—thank you, Ethel, for being my friend all these years.

I want to thank Joe Kennedy. I miss him so much in the Congress, and I was reminded of how much I missed him when I saw him up here speaking tonight. And I'd say Mark has a good future, wouldn't you? [*Applause*] He did a great job over here.

When Ted and Vicki were taking me through the house tonight with Ethel, or all the houses, and Sarge and Eunice and Pat went with us, and Sarge told me in a couple of weeks he was going to be 85 years old, I thought, "Well, Mark, you've got another 40 years to run for office. You don't have to even be in a hurry. It's great." [*Laughter*]

Let me just say one word, too, if I might, about Senator Kennedy. He has been so good

to me and to Hillary and to our family and so wonderful to work with. And when we suffered the terrible disappointment of losing the Congress in the 1994 elections, you know, a lot of people wanted to quit. Some people did quit, because the Democrats had been the majority for quite a long while, except for a 6-year interruption in the Senate. And the thing that I liked most about Ted Kennedy is that he doesn't understand the meaning of the word quit.

You know, he was sort of like me. I woke up the next day, and I said, "Boy, we got a terrible licking. We've got to figure out why it happened and go take it back and keep working for the things we believe in, and in the meanwhile, we could certainly stop them from doing what they're trying to do." And Ted thought it was a pretty good fight.

I cannot tell you what an inspiration he has been not only to me but to people in the Congress, just reminding them that nobody's got a right to be in the majority; nobody's got a right to be in office. But we do if we have the office, a responsibility—we have a responsibility to get up every day and make something good happen. And that's what he does. And I should tell you, I have said many times that there would be no way in the world any well-informed historian could make a list of the 10 greatest United States Senators from the beginning of the Republic in the 18th century without putting Ted Kennedy's name on it. That's absolutely true.

I also want to thank my old friend Brendan Byrne, the former Governor of New Jersey, for being here tonight. And two of my former Ambassadors, Tom Siewert, who was my Ambassador to Sweden, and Elizabeth Bagley, who represented us in Portugal, are here tonight. I thank them for being here. The chairman of our Democratic Convention in L.A., Terry McAuliffe, is here tonight. He's probably the one who has really been copying your license number down. [*Laughter*]

Let me also say that I first came to this place—not to this compound; I've never been here before—but I first came here 32 years ago with my college roommate. And I nearly drowned, actually, swimming off the waters here. It was just a year after then-Senator Robert Kennedy had filled in for his

brother at a meeting that my class at Georgetown sponsored, along with a Massachusetts club. And my roommate, Tommy Caplan, got him to come. And he came with me tonight, and I think that's pretty sweet that after 32 years we're still bumming around together. So I want to thank him for coming.

Now, I want to stop walking down memory lane for just a minute and tell you that I believe that Kathleen represents the best of what I want for the future. I'm really proud of my wife for running for the Senate seat once held by Robert Kennedy in New York. I am glad that there are devoted people who still believe public service is noble and worthy and worth spending your life on. And I'm always tickled when the people who run against them think they can't beat them head up, so they just try to breed personal resentment against them, as if public service were some sort of possession. Well, for some of them it might be, but for us, it's an opportunity to serve.

And all the memories that are piled high here, from President Kennedy and Senator Kennedy and Ambassador Joe Kennedy before, all the memories that are embodied in the wonderful pictures I saw in the house, and the sacrifice of their older brother in World War II, and all the things that this farflung network of younger people have done, really make a case for the primacy of citizenship.

What's that got to do with anything? Well, the Republicans just had their convention. We're about to have ours. Kathleen wants to run for Governor. A lot of the other young people here are going to run for things, themselves. Some of you may run who aren't even related to the Kennedys. *[Laughter]* And what I would like to say to you is that what happens this year will have a lot to do with the world in which you grow, in which you raise your children, and if you're fortunate enough to be elected, the world in which you serve.

I have done everything I could do for 7½ years to turn our country around. We were in a time of economic distress, social division, political decline in 1992. And we not only have the strongest economy in our history, but this is a more just nation. We have the lowest minority unemployment we ever re-

corded, the lowest female unemployment in 40 years, the lowest single-parent household poverty rate in 46 years, a lower crime rate, the lowest welfare rolls in 32 years—it's a more just society—the lowest child poverty rate in a generation.

But the issue is, what are we going to do about it? I was pleased that the Republicans said one thing at their convention I really like. They did acknowledge these were good times. *[Laughter]* And it was both perceptive and generous of them to do that. *[Laughter]* But of course, they differed about what caused it. I noticed it was a totally different take than they had back when Mr. Reagan was in office. And they differed about what we ought to do with it. That's good. That's what makes America a great and thriving democracy.

But what I want to say to you is that what you're about to do this year as citizens—and this election is every bit as important as the election in 1992. In fact, it may be more important. Why? Because you didn't have to be a genius in 1992 to know that the country was in the ditch, and if we were going to get out of it we had to change. But it takes some real thought and analysis and kind of hooking your brain in with your heart to feel your way and think your way through what we should do with this phenomenal time we're living in.

And one of the things that has concerned me, as President and as a citizen and as someone who is not on the ballot this year, is all the stories I read saying that people think the economy's gone along so well that it doesn't really much matter what happens in this election, or stories I read that say that there's really not much difference in the public's mind between the two candidates.

What I would like to say to you is, there are three things you need to remember about this election: one is, it is profoundly important; two is, there are huge differences; three is, only the Democrats want you to know what they are. What does that tell you about who to vote for?

If you see the reports in the paper today, finally a kind of a reassessment of the convention that was just adjourned, and interviewing all these undecided voters and they said, "It was really nice. It was very appealing

and all, but where are the specifics?" There's a reason they weren't there, because they can't do that—not and win. [Laughter] And the object is to win. So I say to all of you, if you believe in the spirit of public service and the piling high of sacrifice that is embodied by this magnificent piece of history that Ethel's made it possible for us to share tonight, you've got to go out and do your part in this election. I can tell you, it would be a lot easier for Kathleen to be Governor if Al Gore is President. It will be a lot easier if Dick Gephardt is Speaker. If Tom Daschle is the majority leader, it will be easier.

And let me just say, just very briefly, you have got to tell the people you know who are not here tonight—every one of you has friends who are not as political as you are. I hope you do. Otherwise, you'd all go nuts if everybody were like us. [Laughter] Every one of you do. What are you going to tell them about this election? The first thing I want you to tell them is, it is a really big election. What a country does with an unprecedented moment of prosperity may be a bigger test of its character than what you do in adversity.

There's not a person in this audience tonight over 30 who hasn't made at least one mistake in life, at a time—not because it was so tough but because things were going so well you thought there was just no penalty to the failure to concentrate. Isn't that right? Everybody—if you're over 30, that's happened to you. Now, that's all I'm worried about in this election. If we get that out of the way, the rest of it's fine.

What are the differences? What does it matter? Let me just mention two or three. I think this is a moment for laying before the American people the great challenges and great opportunities of the 21st century. I think we ought to say this is not a time for complacency. Who knows when we'll have times this good again. We have to think about the long term and do the big things.

We have to deal with the aging of America. We have to deal with the fact that we've got the largest and most diverse group of schoolchildren we've ever had. We have to deal with our opportunities to spread this economy to people in places who have been left behind in our prosperity. We have to deal

with environmental challenges. We have to deal with the challenges, as well as the opportunities, presented to us by the revolution in information technology and in biomedical sciences. We have to fulfill our responsibilities around the world to help people deal with the challenges of AIDS, of malaria, of TB, of crushing debt in the poorest countries in the world. We have to deal with new security threats. There's a whole world out there. We should be thinking big, big, big, big.

Now, let me just deal with two or three things. The economy, one of the reasons I think Al Gore ought to be President and Hillary ought to be in the Senate and Ted ought to be a committee chairman again is that we didn't quadruple the debt of this country in 12 years, and we got rid of the deficit in 6, and we're going to have \$400 billion of the debt paid down, and we still have the lowest average tax burden on average families we've had in 35 years, and we've doubled investment in education.

Now, it's a good economic strategy. But the American people have got a big choice to make here—huge. And they don't understand yet how different the two strategies are. Our strategy is, let's modernize what got us this far; let's keep paying down the debt, keep investing in education and science and technology and health care and the environment; give the American people a tax cut we can afford. In other words, do those things and then have a tax cut with the rest, and help people send their kids to college, pay for long-term care for the elderly and the disabled, increase tax benefits for lower income people with lots of kids, help people save for retirement, moderate the marriage penalty but don't, for goodness sakes, go back to the bad old days of big deficits and high interest rates.

Now, it took me a while to say that. Their plan is so much easier, and it sounds better at first. They say, "Hey, we've got this big surplus. It's your money. We're going to give it back to you." Doesn't take very long to say, and it sounds so good. Well, there's a few problems with it. The first problem is, they don't save any money for their promises. If they do what they say they're going to do on Social Security, that will cost a trillion dollars. If they do what they say they're going

to do on defense, that will cost another \$200 or \$300 billion. And then there will be emergencies along the way.

But forget about all that. Their tax program alone would take away the entire projected surplus. The big problem with their economic policy is, it's a projected surplus. You know, did you ever get one of those letters in the mail from Ed McMahon and the Publishers Clearing House? *[Laughter]* "You may have won \$10 million." That's a projected surplus. *[Laughter]*

You can use this, and you don't have to give me credit. *[Laughter]* You've got to clarify the choices. So tell people, say, "When you got that letter, if you went out the next day and spent the \$10 million, you should support them. Otherwise, you had better stick with us and keep this economy going." *[Laughter]*

Now, let me tell you. We got an economic study last week that said that the Vice President's plan, as opposed to the Republican plan, which would keep paying the debt down, would keep interest rates at least—at least—one percent lower over a decade. Do you know what that's worth to you in tax cuts effectively? It means \$250 billion less in home mortgage payments, \$30 billion less in car payments, and \$15 billion less in student loan payments. Never mind lower business loans and all that. This is a huge deal.

Let me give you another example. It's very important to Kathleen and to the whole Kennedy family and that affects the Governors big-time because it will have a big impact on the crime rate. Gun safety, what's our position? Our position is, I was right to sign the Brady bill, and the previous Republican administration was wrong to veto it. And since then, 500,000 felons, fugitives, and stalkers haven't been able to get handguns.

Now, you know what they said to me when I signed the Brady bill—the "againners," the ones that were against it? They said, "This bill will do no good because all the real crooks buy their guns at gun shows or urban flea markets, so this won't do any good." Well, it turned out they were wrong. We've got a half million people that couldn't get guns.

So now, we want to close the loophole and apply to gun shows and urban flea markets

and put child trigger locks on and stop these large capacity ammunition clips from being imported into America and getting around our assault weapons ban, and the same crowd that once said that's where the criminals got their guns, they don't want us to do that now.

So our position is—and let me just faithfully repeat the Vice President's position—close the gun show loophole, mandate child trigger locks, ban large capacity ammunition clips, and establish a photo ID licensing system for people that want to buy handguns so they have to pass a background check, and show they can use the gun safety. Now, that's his position.

Their position is, more concealed weapons, even in houses of worship. Now, it's not like there's no evidence here. This is like the economy. That's the last point I should have made on the economy. It's not like you don't have any evidence. We tried it their way for 12 years. We've tried it our way for 8 years. Just ask your friends to make a judgment on the evidence.

The same thing is true on crime. Crime has gone down for 8 years in a row. Gun crime is down 35 percent. Listen, this is a huge issue. There are people's lives on the line based on who the American people think is right here.

And I could go through every—I just want to mention one more, because it's really important to me, and Senator Kennedy talked a lot about it, and Kathleen did. If God came to me tonight when I laid my head down and said, "This is the last night of your life, and you're not going to be able to finish your term, but I will give you one wish for America," I would not wish to continue the prosperity. I wouldn't wish for zero crime rate. I would wish for us finally to be one America, to be undivided by race, by gender, by income, by sexual orientation, by all these things.

Because, you know, we all find in our personal lives and our public lives that most of life's greatest wounds are self-inflicted. America can solve any problem. We can meet any challenge. We can overcome any mistake, except the poison in the human heart. So I've worked hard for that. That's why Ted and I are trying to raise the minimum wage

again. That's why I want to broaden the family and medical leave law. That's why we did have that event for people who are mentally retarded, but fully able to do so much, on the White House lawn. That's why I'm for the hate crimes legislation and the employment nondiscrimination legislation and all the civil rights initiatives we've undertaken.

And you know, we're just different there. We're for the hate crimes bill, and their leadership's against it in Washington because gays are protected. We're for the "Employment and Non-Discrimination Act", and they're not. And we want to raise the minimum wage, and they don't. And I could just give you lots and lots of examples.

And you know, we really do believe that the people that served this dinner tonight ought to have as much of a chance to send their kids to college of those of us who ate it. That's what we believe. That's what we believe. So I ask you to think about that. And I want to make one last point.

Kathleen introduced my longtime friend Dr. Craig Venter there, who has done so much to break through the barriers of ignorance on the human genome. There's one other thing I think you ought to think about in this election. It is very important that people be elected to important positions who understand the future.

I used to joke that before Craig and the people from NIH came to the White House the other day for us to announce that the sequencing—the first rough sequencing of the human genome had been completed—I had to read for a year to understand what I was going to say for those 15 minutes. [Laughter]

But you know, there are a lot of issues that have to be faced. How are we going to deal with all the implications when young mothers get to bring a little gene card home with their babies? What would Ethel's life have been like? How would it have been different? How much more hope and less worry would there have been? And would there have been more worry, if when every one of those little Kennedy tots she brought home from the hospital, had been a little gene card there that said, "Okay, this is the things that—now, Kathleen, this is the things that are likely to happen to her that are good, and the things

that are likely to happen to her that are bad"? That's going to happen. And some people will want to use that information to deny people employment or a pay raise or a promotion or health insurance. I think we ought to have somebody in the White House that understands all that. And I think it's important.

Al Gore—I noticed the Republicans made fun of him on whether he invented the Internet or not—which, by the way, if you read the New Republic, you'll see it's a totally bum rap, like a lot of the things they lay on him. But I'll tell you this. He sponsored legislation years and years ago when the Internet was the private province of a handful of physicists to make it broadly available to all people. And then in 1996, when we passed the telecommunications law, the Vice President said, "We can't do this unless we have an E-rate that guarantees that every single school and hospital in America can afford to hook up to the Internet so all of our kids can get a world-class education." I think we ought to have somebody that understands that in the White House—all these things, and what they matter.

So when you leave here tonight, another thing you'll remember most is seeing Ethel and Ted and all this younger generation, thinking that Mark and Kathleen have such enormous potential. But it's important that you do your job now. And it's important that we not sit on our laurels over the last 8 years.

Look, I'm grateful that I got a chance to serve as President. I listened to a lot of those guys at the convention. It sounded to me like they thought we had interrupted the ordinary flow of things when I got elected. [Laughter] I remember it being struck in '92 how they really thought there would never be anybody in our party elected President again. They kept referring to me as the Governor of a small southern State. [Laughter] And I was so naive, I thought it was a compliment. [Laughter] And I still do.

Listen to me now. I still do. Nobody is entitled to any of these jobs. If my life had taken one or two different turns I'd be home doing real estate deeds in some law office right now. So I don't feel like a lot of them do. I'm grateful for every day that I had here. I am very grateful. And I don't think—I don't believe—I don't think anybody's entitled to



serve. But I think that before anyone serves, the people have to make sure they know what they're doing. Now, you hear me tonight, and you can go out and tell people this. Tell people what the economic differences are. Tell them what the law enforcement differences are. Tell them what the environmental, the educational, the health care differences are. Tell them what the differences are in terms of what kind of national community we're going to be. Talk to them about these future issues. Climate change is very real, folks. I know it's cool tonight, and it's nice. If we don't do something, within 20 or 30 years the Everglades and the sugarcane fields in Louisiana will start flooding. The polar ice cap's already breaking up at an alarming rate. It's a big deal. I think we ought to have somebody in the White House that understands it.

And I tell you, I've just tried to have a talk tonight. I haven't given much of a speech. But I know this: Things can get away from you. Ted said in a wistful way when he was talking tonight that—he didn't say it exactly this way, but I will say it exactly this way—before we broke the record for the longest period of economic expansion in history, the last longest economic expansion in history was between 1961 and 1969—the Kennedy-Johnson years. And I graduated from high school in 1964, and I thought, just like, apparently, a lot of voters today thought—thought, “Man, you couldn't mess this economy up with a stick of dynamite.”

Unemployment was low; inflation was low; growth was high—no problem. I thought all the civil rights problems were going to be solved in the courts or in the Congress. I didn't dream Vietnam would get out of hand. I never dreamed we would have riots in the streets or that people I literally adored could be killed. But it all happened in 4 short years. And then, the last longest economic expansion in history was history.

You need to nourish and cherish this moment. I have waited for 35 years for my country to be once again in the position to build the future of our dreams for our children. I am grateful that this family has given so much to that end. But in the end, we rise or fall on the good judgment and the good service of the people. Do not blow this election. The best is still out there.

Thank you, and God bless you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:50 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to Lieutenant Governor Townsend's husband, David, and daughters Kate, Kerry, Meaghan, and Maeve; cousin, Mark Shriver; mother, Ethel Kennedy; uncle, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, and his wife, Vicki; uncle, Sargent Shriver; and aunts Eunice Kennedy Shriver and Patricia Kennedy. The President also referred to Gov. Parris Glendening of Maryland and J. Craig Venter, president and chief scientific officer, Celera Genomics Corp.

### **Remarks at a Reception for Hillary Clinton in Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts**

*August 6, 2000*

Thank you. Well, first of all, I want to thank the Biondis for having us back at their home this year and for raising all this money. And I want to thank the Iscolis and the others who helped them. And I want to thank all of you for helping Hillary.

I can hardly add anything to what Carol said; I thought that was great. I hope we got it on tape somewhere. *[Laughter]* But I would like to say just a couple of things about Hillary and about the election in a larger sense.

It is not often that someone runs for the Senate to do work that he or she has been preparing to do for 30 years. When I met Hillary, in 1971 in the springtime, wearing a yellow shirt—that's why I wore it tonight—*[laughter]*—I can't believe I said that. *[Laughter]* Anyway, she was working on children's issues. She wrote an article when we were in law school on the best interests of the child and what they really meant—one, I might add, that the Republicans attacked her for in 1992 when I ran for President, and one I was only too happy to defend.

She took an extra year when we were in law school to work at the Yale Child Studies Center in the Yale hospital, so she could learn more about children's biological development and the nature of child development and how it would impact on the law and what we could do to better give our kids—all of

our kids, including those that grew up in the most disadvantaged circumstances—a decent shot at life.

In the 8 years that I have been President she pioneered sweeping changes to make adoption easier, including adoption across racial lines, to take better care of foster kids and help them when they move out of foster care just because they're 18 years old, and before we passed the recent legislation in most States of this country, there was nothing for them. They were just out there on their own, abandoned, lost, forgotten.

She held the first conference ever at the White House on early childhood and brain development. She worked on violence against children and so many other issues that I think are central to what kind of country we're going to be. And along the way, she did a lot of other things.

On the way in here tonight, she gave a White House millennial treasures designation to the tabernacle here on Martha's Vineyard and the work that's been done there.

When we started thinking about how we ought to celebrate the year 2000, because we knew it would be our last year in the White House, Hillary came up with this idea that we ought to celebrate the millennium by honoring the past and imagining the future. So she launched this unbelievable lecture series that some of you have probably seen or logged on to your Internet site or seen publicized, on all the major topics that will dominate the 21st century, and at the same time a massive attempt to save the historic treasures of America from every little community like this one, all the way to the Star-Spangled Banner, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution. And we recently announced the designation of the cottage that Abraham Lincoln and his family used at the Old Soldiers' Home in Washington, which many other First Families in the latter half of the 19th century used as a summer home.

And Dick Moe, the head of the National Historic Preservation Trust, got up and said that Hillary's millennial treasures effort was the largest single historic preservation effort in the entire history of the United States of America.

And there's 50 other things I could have said, I have forgotten, or left out. *[Laughter]*

But the main point is that you couldn't have anybody who knows more and who cares more and who has shown more consistency in the Senate.

Now, the other thing I want to say is, as somebody who is not on the ballot this year, I've worked as hard as I know how to turn this country around from where it was in 1992—*[applause]*—thank you. Stop—*[laughter]*—timeout—and if I might, in the metaphors of our two campaigns, to put the American people first and to build a bridge to the 21st century. But every election is about the future, and this election presents quite a stern test to the American people, because we have to decide what to do with the most momentous prosperity we've ever had, when all the social indicators are going in the right direction, when we face an absence of flaming crisis at home and glaring threat to our existence from beyond our borders.

And it is very easy at a time like this for people to believe, A, that the election is not important, and B, that it doesn't make much difference who gets elected. And differences tend to get blurred. I don't want to do anything to undermine the happy feeling the American people have now, the upbeat and the positive feeling, but you can make a huge mistake in good times by thinking there's no penalty in failing to analyze your situation and acting on what's out there.

We may never have another chance in our lifetimes to build the future of our dreams for our kids. And there are profound consequences to this election. And I'll just mention two, because I want Hillary to talk and I want you to hear from her, but I want you to think about two things that affect the Presidential race and the Senate race. I could mention 10, but I want you to focus on the 2.

One is, if you like the fact that we're becoming a more just society where there is less discrimination against people because of their race, their gender, their income, their sexual orientation, where the crime rates are going down, the welfare rolls are going down, the single-parent household poverty rate's at a 46-year low, the female unemployment rate at a 40-year low, the minority unemployment the lowest ever recorded, it is important if

you want to keep that going not only to have good social policies but to keep this economy going and to make extra efforts to spread its benefits to the people in places that are left behind. The number one economic issue in this race, a huge difference between Hillary and her opponent and between the Vice President and his opponent, is what we intend to do with the economy and the surplus.

Their line is, "It's your money. We're going to give it back to you in a tax cut, all of it." Now, that doesn't give them any money left to pay for their own spending promises. It gives no money left to pay for their Social Security promises. And I can tell you this. If you partially privatize Social Security and you guarantee the benefits that are there and the people who are about to be there, that costs another trillion dollars, at least, that you've just got to put in there just to protect the benefits. And Dr. Modigliani is up there nodding his head. I have a Nobel Prize-winning laureate here, backing up my budgetary figures. So you've already spent—just with the tax cut promises and the Social Security promises, you already spent 50 percent more than the projected surplus.

What happens? Interest rates will go up at least a point over a decade, taking away the benefits of any tax cut from 80 percent of the American people, undermining the health of the economy, undermining our ability to grow, and undermining the security the American people need to deal forthrightly with our social problems and to build one America. Plus which, the most important thing is, this is a projected surplus.

Some of you were at the Kennedy event last night over in Hyannis Port, and I said this is kind of like one of those letters you get in the mail from Ed McMahon and the Publishers Clearing House. [*Laughter*] "You may have won \$10 million." And you may have. But then again, you may not. And if you spent the \$10 million when you got that letter, you should support them. [*Laughter*] But if you didn't, you should support Hillary and Al Gore and keep this economy going.

The only other thing I wanted to say is, this election is also a choice about choice—for the White House and for the Senate. I hope that no one in the Democratic Convention will do what some in the Republican

Convention did by illusion in what they used to do to make a living, which is to criticize our opponents as people. I think we should assume that they're honorable, they're patriotic, they love their country, they love their families, and they'll do their best to do what is right.

They don't believe that we should keep *Roe v. Wade*. That's what they honestly believe in their heart, and they have a perfect right to believe that. But there will be two to four appointments on the Supreme Court next time. And I hope Al Gore will be making them. But it's something you need to think about in the Presidential race. But you should never forget that no one gets appointed to a major position like that who is not confirmed by the Senate. So it matters. Every last Senate seat is of critical importance in this Presidential race. Those are just two issues. As I said, there are 8 or 10 others that are of profound importance.

But if you want to do something for Hillary in this election, and I'll get down to the last here, one of the things that really hurts me the most—and if you listen to the tenor of the campaign against her—is basically, "Don't vote for her because she's not from here. Don't vote for her because, why is she doing this? Don't vote for her—let me see if I can get you to resent her."

And you know that old aphorism, "Whom the Gods would destroy, they first make angry." If the voters in New York can get really confused, that's the only way she can lose. Because if they vote for the strongest person, for the best qualified person, for the person who can do the most, and for the person with whom they agree, she wins. They know that.

That's why you have seen the campaign unfolding the way it is. If ever anybody deserves a chance to serve in public life, she does. But no one—no one—but the truth is, no one deserves public office—no one—[*laughter*]*—she, more than anybody I know, but nobody.* The reason that people ought to vote for her is, it's good for them and for their kids and their future. That's what democracy is all about.

So the last thing I want to tell you is, when you leave here tonight, if you're from New York or if you know anybody from New York,

the thing she most needs is for people like you to tell other people they know, "I know this woman. She is a good person. She is a great public servant, and she ought to be the next Senator."

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 7:30 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to reception hosts Frank J. Biondi, Jr., and his wife, Carol; Republican Presidential nominee Gov. George W. Bush of Texas; and Franco Modigliani, recipient, 1985 Nobel Prize in Economics. A tape was not available for verification of the content of these remarks.

### Remarks on Signing the Oceans Act of 2000 in Martha's Vineyard

August 7, 2000

Save the bill! [*Laughter*] Another triumph for the Secret Service. Give him a hand. That was great. [*Applause*] Thanks.

Let me welcome all of you here and thank you for joining me today. I want to begin by just thanking the people of Martha's Vineyard for once again making all of my family, Hillary and Chelsea and I, feel so much at home. We love coming back to this place year after year. And in the years that I have served as President, it's meant more to us than I can possibly say, to be able to come here for refuge, to enjoy this beautiful, beautiful place, and to have the contacts we've had with our old friends and meet a lot of new people, as well. So I want to thank you for that.

This year, because of the year it is and the activities of my wife and the things that I have to do, our vacation is a lot shorter than it normally is. But I think it's a wonderful thing that we can do this today here on our last day. I want to thank the Coast Guard personnel for making this beautiful site available to us, in the shadow of this great old lighthouse.

I'd also like to mention a couple of people who can't be with us today that I want to pay homage to. The first and foremost is Senator Fritz Hollings of South Carolina. He sponsored the legislation that I am signing today, and he has been a champion of our oceans for his entire career. And Hillary and

I want to thank him. Hillary and I and the Vice President and Tipper Gore were all part of our Oceans Conference in Monterey 2 years ago, and it was a very moving event which led to the passage of this bill today.

I also want to acknowledge the contributions of a sometime resident of Martha's Vineyard, my friend Ted Danson, who has also been a great champion of the oceans and who was a part of our Oceans Conference—and, Mary, thank you for coming today—this is a good day for him, as well.

The secrets of the sea have forever captured the human imagination. We are drawn to the stories of exploration, navigation, and here in Martha's Vineyard, we're drawn to the tale of that not-so-little fish with the considerable appetite who was filmed here 25 years ago. [*Laughter*] After a quarter century, though, I think it's safe for us all to go back in the water, and Steven Spielberg said so.

I think it's important today to remember that oceans are more than a place for recreation. They have a central effect on the weather and our climate system. Coral reefs and coastal waters are a storehouse of biodiversity. They offer new hope for medicine and science. Oceans are also essential to our economy. Through tourism, fishing, and other industries, ocean resources support one out of every six jobs in the entire United States.

For more than 7½ years, Vice President Gore and I have worked to safeguard our oceans and our beaches. We've quadrupled funds for national marine sanctuaries, restricted offshore drilling, rebuilt threatened fisheries, protected coral reefs, and strengthened water quality standards along our coast to protect against pollution.

This year I sent the Congress a lands legacy budget that proposes record funding for ocean and coastal protection, and I hope Congress will pass it before they go home. But we must do more, and we must keep looking ahead.

Two years ago, on the Monterey Peninsula in northern California, we brought together scientists, conservationists, and business leaders for the first-ever Oceans Conference. I called on Congress to create an oceans commission to continue the important work we began there. Thanks to Senator Hollings,

we're following through on that commitment in this bill that I will soon sign, the Oceans Act of 2000, legislation to help chart a 21st century strategy for the protection and sustainable use of our oceans and coasts.

The legislation establishes a national Commission to improve our stewardship of the sea. Above all, this bill is about setting a vision to ensure that our beaches are clean, our oceans are protected, our coastal economies remain strong.

We know that when we protect our oceans, we're protecting our future. It is now time to do that. It's been more than 30 years since the last oceans commission, the Stratton Commission, laid the foundation for Federal oceans policy, which led to the creation of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. But the pressures on our oceans and coasts continue to mount. Americans continue to be drawn to the oceans. More than half our citizens live in a coastal area. Nearly half of all new development occurs along the coast. But we know better than ever that oceans have limits. They can be overfished, overpolluted. Poisonous runoff from the Mississippi River alone has created a dead zone in the Gulf of Mexico that is almost as large now as the entire State of Massachusetts.

These are some of the challenges to be addressed by the new Commission. But they will also look for new opportunities in our oceans, exploring ways we can all benefit from new technologies and discoveries. For example, in recent years, we've learned that blood from the horseshoe crab provides a vital antibacterial agent. And a potential anticancer drug may come from a deep-sea sponge. This is just the beginning.

There's no better place to sign this legislation than here, because of the longstanding link to the sea the people of Massachusetts have. The maritime tradition stretches back over 300 years. Marine research was pioneered in nearby Woods Hole starting in the 1870's. Now we build on that proud tradition as we launch a 21st century course for our oceans policy.

President Kennedy once said, "We are tied to the ocean. And when we go back to the sea, whether it is to sail or to watch it, we're going back from whence we came." By going

back from whence we came, we prepare a better future for our children. This is a good day for that, and I'm glad it's happening here.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:41 a.m. at the U.S. Coast Guard Station at West Chop Lighthouse. In his remarks, he referred to actor Ted Danson, president and cofounder, American Oceans Campaign, and his wife, actress Mary Steenburgen; and movie producer/director Steven Spielberg. S. 2327, approved August 7, was assigned Public Law No. 106-256.

## Exchange With Reporters in Martha's Vineyard

August 7, 2000

### Senator Joseph I. Lieberman

**Q.** What do you make of Gore's selection of Senator Lieberman?

**The President.** Well, first of all, this is a very important choice, and the Vice President is going to make his announcement tomorrow, so I don't want to comment on that. But I'll be glad to tell you what I think of Senator Lieberman. He's been a friend of mine for 30 years. I supported him when I was a law student at Yale, and he was running for the State Senate—he wasn't even 30 years old then—and I think he's one of the most outstanding people in public life.

I've worked with him for 15 years or more through the Democratic Leadership Council. He's a bold thinker. He's always full of new ideas, and he's supported the changes that we've made over the last 8 years that have turned America around and moved America forward. I think he's just an extraordinary guy. I like him. I know his family. I like his family members, whom I know. I just think he's an amazing person.

And we've talked a lot over the years about the Middle East peace process and every conceivable domestic issue. He's an extraordinary, extraordinary human being, as well as a longtime friend of mine. So I think he's terrific.

I think that the important thing now is—I know you'll have a lot of questions you want to ask me and everybody else, but I'd rather not say anything else today. Let's let the Vice President make his announcement

tomorrow, and then I'll be glad to answer any other questions you have.

But I think right now, you just need to know that I think he's wonderful, and he's been a wonderful friend to me, and he's been great for America these last 8 years with what he's done in the Senate. And he's been great for our party with what he's done through the Democratic Leadership Council. So I'm very happy about Joe Lieberman. But I think we ought to let the announcement be made by the Vice President. You guys ask the questions later. I'll be ready to answer all the questions.

NOTE: The exchange began at noon at the U.S. Coast Guard Station at West Chop Lighthouse. A tape was not available for verification of the content of this exchange.

### **Statement on Signing the Oceans Act of 2000**

*August 7, 2000*

Today, I am pleased to approve S. 2327, the "Oceans Act of 2000." This legislation would establish a "Commission on Ocean Policy," to make recommendations to the President and the Congress for a coordinated and comprehensive national ocean policy.

The United States is an ocean nation. Our ocean territory of over 4 million square miles is the largest and richest in the world. Over thirty years have passed since the Stratton Commission conducted a comprehensive examination of our Nation's ocean and coastal resources. The work of that Commission led to many significant achievements in the early 1970s, including enactment of major legislation to protect the oceans and coastal areas and creation of the Department of Commerce's National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. It is appropriate, especially in the wake of the many recent scientific and technological advancements and pressures facing the oceans and our coasts, to re-examine our Nation's relationship to the sea.

My Administration has undertaken several initiatives that will support the work of the Commission. In 1998, I, along with Vice President Gore and the First Lady, participated in the first-ever National Ocean Con-

ference, which was attended by over 500 individuals representing all sectors of the ocean community, from government to industry, science to conservation. At that conference, I called on the Congress to create an oceans commission to help forge a new strategy to preserve the incomparable natural resources of our oceans and seas. The Vice President and I launched a series of new steps to restore coral reefs, rebuild marine fisheries, preserve freedom of the seas, and further explore the ocean. My Administration's Oceans Report Task Force is currently implementing several initiatives related to ocean exploration, coral reef protection, safe navigation, environmentally sound and economically viable aquaculture, improved fisheries enforcement, and the establishment of an international observation network to better understand the role of oceans in climate. The Task Force will be beneficial to the Commission as it begins its important work next year.

My Administration's Coral Reef Task Force has produced a National Action Plan to protect our Nation's precious corals and, earlier this year, I directed Federal agencies to establish an integrated national system of Marine Protected Areas. Most recently, I announced an Ocean Exploration initiative to develop a national ocean exploration strategy and work toward solving some of the mysteries of the ocean through the development of new technologies and newly discovered organisms with medical and commercial potential.

In approving this measure, I note that section 4(a) states that the President "shall submit to Congress a statement of proposals to implement or respond to the Commission's recommendations" concerning a national ocean policy, which may include recommendations for changes to Federal law. The Recommendations Clause of the Constitution provides that the President "shall from time to time . . . recommend to [the Congress] Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient," U.S. Const. Art. II, § 3. That Clause protects the President's authority to formulate and

present his own recommendations, which includes the power to decline to offer any recommendation. Accordingly, to avoid any infringement on the President's constitutionally protected policy-making prerogatives, I construe section 4(a) not to extend to the submission of proposals or responses that the President finds it unnecessary or inexpedient to present.

I am disappointed that S. 2327 restricts the President's appointment of 12 of the 16 members of the Commission to nominees of the leadership of the Senate and House of Representatives. Additionally, I believe the Commission should focus on domestic, non-military, ocean, and coastal activities.

I congratulate the congressional supporters of this legislation, especially Senator Hollings. I am pleased that there is a renewed national interest in the ocean, including a growing sense of the opportunities to utilize marine and coastal resources, and a sense of stewardship to manage these resources in a sustainable manner. As I have said before, I consider preservation of our living oceans to be a sacred legacy for all time to come. S. 2327 will enhance our understanding of the ocean and contribute to shaping U.S. ocean policy.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
August 7, 2000.

NOTE: S. 2327, approved August 7, was assigned Public Law No. 106-256.

### **Statement on the Anniversary of the United States Embassy Bombings in Kenya and Tanzania**

*August 7, 2000*

I join all Americans in remembering the lives lost 2 years ago today in the bombing of our Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. Twelve dedicated Americans perished on that day, together with 44 Kenyan and Tanzanian citizens working to support our diplomatic efforts, and more than 200 other innocent people. The targets of this crime were doing so much good: helping Africans and each other to promote peace and democracy, to fight poverty and disease, to

protect the environment, and to aid American citizens in need. I believe they were targets precisely because they were dedicated to principles of tolerance, understanding, and cooperation across frontiers. The terrorists took from us our colleagues, friends, and loved ones, but they have failed utterly to deter us from advancing these principles around the world.

Today we remember that, in many ways, the men and women who serve America in our diplomatic missions endure as much danger and hardship as the men and women who serve America in our military. As long as the world is as it is, we cannot eliminate the risk. But we can and must give them the support they need to minimize that risk, and the backing they deserve to achieve America's goals in the world.

### **Remarks at a Lunch With Firefighters in Burgdorf Junction, Idaho**

*August 8, 2000*

Scott, I want to thank you for this. And I want to thank Dave Alexander for making me feel welcome here. And I just want to say I appreciate what you're doing. I could have used this about 7½ years ago I think, when I got to Washington. There was a lot of underbrush that needed cutting there. [Laughter] I will treasure this for the rest of my life. Thank you.

I wanted to begin today, if I might, by thanking your Governor, Dirk Kempthorne, for coming out here with me, and Senator Larry Craig and Helen and Mike—both your Members of Congress are here from Idaho. And I'm very grateful to them for that. Let's give them a hand for being here and for the support they've given you. [Applause]

And of course, as Secretary Glickman said, our Secretary of Interior, Bruce Babbitt, came today, along with Louis Caldera, the Secretary of the Army, and Mike Dombeck, who is your chief of the Forest Service. And mostly we came here to say thanks.

I got to fly over at least some of the fires, and it was early morning, and I know they haven't reared their ugly heads yet, but I have some sense of what you're doing. I also

got to see some places where you had succeeded in changing the course of the fire and limiting its reach, and I appreciate that very much. I know that Mother Nature will burn in our forests one way or the other, but it matters how it happens. It matters that people don't die. It matters that property is saved. It matters that precious and irreplaceable things are saved. And you're doing that.

I know a lot of the firefighters have been working here for weeks and weeks, and probably for months. Given all the problems we've had with wildfires this summer, you probably know we've already lost 4 million acres, which is about twice the 10-year average, before this. So we're in for a rough summer, and I know how hard it is on you.

I'd also like to say a special word of appreciation to the people from the military who have come up from Fort Hood to teach you that one loud word in the English language. [Laughter] And I heard there are some marines here, too, somewhere, doing some work in this area, and I thank them. But obviously, I'm especially proud of this group from Fort Hood because their leader, Lieutenant Colonel Dell Williams, was my Army military aide before he got a real job with you guys. I told him today I was glad to see him having to do real work after having that White House job for a good while. But it didn't do him any permanent harm.

So I thank you for your service. And I thank you for the work you're doing together. We're going to release today about \$150 million in emergency funds to help continue to fight the fire and to help restore the area afterward. And I hope that restoration work will also lead to some jobs for the people in this area who have been disadvantaged by this fire.

And I have asked the Secretaries of Agriculture and Interior to undertake an intensive 90-day study and report back to me about what can be done to minimize the impact of wildfires like this, because this thing was pretty well—thanks to most of you who have been doing this for years—this whole issue was much more in hand over the last 10 years. And this has been a difficult year. And most of the people I talk to think that the next 2 or 3 years could also be difficult years. So we want to do whatever we can

to make sure that we take care of the people, as well as the natural resource.

But the main thing I did—I just wanted to get in the plane this morning and fly here and say thanks. I know this is hard, and I know a lot of you are a long way from home. I know some of you have to get, almost, permission to go back to where you come from just so you can pay the bills and keep them from turning off the water and the electricity.

But I want you to know that your fellow Americans appreciate it. These fires have been very well publicized, and the American people know how they're being fought and who is fighting them. And you need to know that we're proud of you, and we're grateful to you.

I know there was a terrible fatality, and there is a funeral today, and our prayers are with the family of the man who lost his life. This is hard, and I know it. And the main thing I wanted to do was just hop on Air Force One this morning at 6 o'clock so I could come over here and say thanks. You've done a good thing for your country and a good thing for your fellow Americans.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 11:55 a.m. in the Fire Incident Command Post in Payette National Forest. In his remarks, he referred to Scott Vail, incident commander, National Interagency Incident Management System Team One, who presented the President with a firefighter's axe; and Dave Alexander, forest supervisor, Payette National Forest.

## Statement on the Decline in Teen Birth Rates

August 8, 2000

I am very encouraged by new data released today by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention showing that teen birth rates in the United States have reached their lowest level since record keeping began 60 years ago. These preliminary data for 1999 show that birth rates among 15 to 19 year olds dropped 3 percent from the previous year and 20 percent from the most recent peak in 1991.



This new information confirms that we continue to make impressive strides in addressing one of the most important social problems facing our Nation. By enacting welfare reform in 1996, taking executive action to require young mothers to stay in school or lose welfare payments, cracking down on child support enforcement, and launching a national campaign to prevent teen pregnancy, the Clinton-Gore administration has sent a clear message to young women and young men alike: Don't get pregnant or father a child until you are ready to take on the responsibility of parenthood. Working in partnership with States, communities, families, religious leaders, the media, and teens themselves, we have promoted innovative teen pregnancy prevention strategies that have contributed to the historic progress we witness today.

These encouraging trends cut across both younger and older teens, married and unmarried teens, all States, and all racial and ethnic groups. The sharpest decline last year was a 6 percent drop in the birth rate for American Indian teenagers. And since 1991, the African-American teen birth rate has decreased by 30 percent. Together, we are helping more young people make responsible choices and delay parenting until they are financially and emotionally ready.

However, we still have much to do, and I urge all sectors of society to continue their efforts to reduce teen pregnancy even further. To build on our progress in breaking the cycle of dependency, I call on Congress to enact my budget initiative to provide \$25 million to support "second-chance homes." These adult-supervised, supportive living arrangements for teen parents who cannot live at home offer parenting skills, job counseling, education, and other referrals that help reduce repeat pregnancies and improve the prospects for young mothers and their children.

### **Statement on Productivity Growth**

*August 8, 2000*

Today's announcement that productivity rose at a 5.3 percent annual rate last quarter is a remarkable confirmation of the contin-

ued strength and vitality of the U.S. economy. Over the past 3 years, productivity has grown 3.3 percent annually—more than twice the growth rate of the previous two decades. Rising productivity has been the key to the combination of strong growth, rising wages, and low core inflation underlying our record economic expansion. Today's news is further evidence that our commitment to fiscal discipline, opening markets, and investing in people has helped lead to an unprecedented era of business investment, innovation, and technological advance that is providing new opportunities for millions of Americans.

This continuing productivity growth underscores the importance of maintaining the fiscal discipline that has been so crucial to this investment-led economic expansion. The majority in Congress continues to pursue a series of misguided tax breaks which, taken together, would bring America back to the era of deficits and knock us off the path of fiscal discipline that has led to this prosperity. Their approach is wrong for America. Let's work together to ensure that our strong economy will continue to grow.

### **Statement on Signing Legislation To Expand Women's Rights National Historical Park**

*August 8, 2000*

I am pleased today to sign S. 1910, bipartisan legislation to expand the Women's Rights National Historical Park, in Seneca Falls and Waterloo, New York, with the addition of the home of Jane Hunt. In 1848 early supporters of women's rights, meeting at Hunt's home, resolved to convene the Nation's first women's rights convention. A century and a half later, the addition of the Hunt House to the historical park is a fitting tribute to all those who have engaged in the struggle for women's rights. With this legislation, this historic home will be purchased by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and donated to the National Park Service. Jane Hunt made a tremendous difference in the lives of American women, and this legislation will ensure that her efforts are remembered and honored in the years ahead.

NOTE: S. 1910, approved August 8, was assigned Public Law No. 106-258.

### **Memorandum on Impacts of Wildland Fires to Rural Communities**

*August 8, 2000*

*Memorandum for the Secretary of Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture*

*Subject: Impacts of Wildland Fires to Rural Communities*

We are a little over halfway through the 2000 fire season and all indications are that it will be the worst season in 50 years. As of August 7, 2000, 63,623 wildland fires have so far this year burned more than 4 million acres at a cost of \$500 million in firefighting expenses. There are up to 300 new fires every day, and Federal, State, and local agencies are managing 50 fires over 1,000 acres in size. The current weather conditions following the prolonged drought in much of the west are drying out millions of acres of forest and rangeland, and the National Weather Service's near-term forecast calls for continued hot, dry conditions with the probability of additional lightning-caused fires.

Over the last several years, the U.S. Forest Service and the Department of the Interior have increased their efforts to protect communities, watersheds, and threatened species from the risk of fire, including reducing hazardous fuels on at-risk public and private lands.

In the western National Forests alone, there are more than 56 million acres at risk. Since 1994 when the Forest Service treated approximately 385,000 acres across the United States, the Department of Agriculture has increased annual hazardous fuels treatments almost four-fold. Last year, almost 2 million acres were treated. But there is much more to be done. You are currently working to develop a long-term strategy to expand Federal efforts to protect communities in the urban-wildland interface and the underlying ecology of these areas. This long-term plan will set targeted funding priorities to reduce fire risk in fire-dependent ecosystems throughout the country. The plan will focus on protecting communities, water-

sheds, and species and is a critical component of any fire management program.

To help address this issue in the near term, today I am directing you to report back to me in 30 days with recommendations on actions that may be taken to respond to this year's fires; to reduce the impacts of these wildland fires on rural communities; and to ensure sufficient firefighting resources in the future. First, the report should consider potential responses to this year's fires, including:

- A short-term plan for rehabilitation of fire-damaged ecosystems, including means to minimize the introduction of invasive species, reduce threats to water quality, and protect endangered species. The plan should also address the role of natural restoration processes in these efforts.
- An assessment of the economic impacts in affected areas.

Second, the report should focus on the short-term actions that Federal agencies, in cooperation with States and local communities, can take to reduce immediate hazards to other communities in the wildland-urban interface. As part of this effort, the report will examine how the Federal Government, in cooperation with State and tribal governments, and local communities, will prepare for anticipated extreme fire conditions in the future, by analyzing fire management planning and firefighter personnel and resources.

You should use this information to review firefighting and prevention needs and work with the Office of Management and Budget to determine whether there are additional FY 2001 funding needs so that the Administration may request, and the Congress may provide, additional resources before the end of the fiscal year.

**William J. Clinton**

### **Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medal of Freedom**

*August 9, 2000*

*The President.* Thank you. Good afternoon. Welcome to the White House. I want to join Hillary in welcoming all those who have been acknowledged and all the other

family and friends of our honorees today. And I want to thank her for many things but especially for the conversations that we had leading up to this day about people who should be selected and the reasons there. Some of them reflect, now that we've been here 8 years and been involved in public life for nearly three decades, a lot of personal experiences that we have had. And we had a lot of good times talking about who should be here today and why.

More than 60 years ago, President Franklin Roosevelt said, "Freedom cannot be bestowed. It must be achieved." From the founding of our Nation, it has been the duty of each generation to achieve freedom all over again, to expand it, to deepen its meaning, to widen the circle of those who are included as full citizens.

Today we honor 15 men and women who have done exactly that. They have helped America to achieve freedom. It is my honor, on behalf of a proud nation, to award each of them the Presidential Medal of Freedom, our highest civilian honor. In the words of our Constitution, they have helped us to secure the blessings of liberty by acts of bravery, conscience, and creativity. I am grateful for those who are here and for those who are being honored who are not here today.

When Jim Burke was just starting out in business, his boss called him into the office and told him to shut the door. He had just made a mistake, and he was convinced he was about to be fired. Instead, his boss congratulated him, saying his mistake meant he was making decisions and taking risks. Over the years, his willingness to make the tough call in times of crisis and to put the public interest above all else has placed a higher premium on candor and corporate citizenship in the business world.

In an age when many look only to the bottom line, he draws his values from a deeper well. Jim took a risk when he became chairman of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America. Most people think that's a problem you can talk about but not much you can do about. There are clearly few challenges tougher and few more vital than teaching our young people about the dangers of drugs, helping more to avoid them, helping more

to overcome addiction, once they have become involved.

Like every other challenge in his life, he met it head on. Among other things, he's raised billions of dollars in private resources to help do the job. He has worked closely with administrations, both Democratic and Republican, with the Office of National Drug Control and Prevention.

Last year the teen drug use rate fell substantially, thanks in no small measure to years and years and years of passionate devotion by Jim Burke. Thanks to him, our families are healthier; our communities are safer; our Nation is stronger.

Commander, read the citation.

*[Comdr. Michael M. Gilday, USN, Navy Aide to the President, read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]*

**The President.** In the fall of 1951, in the mountains of North Korea, a young marine made himself a promise: Whatever he faced in battle, he would strive to act just as his commander would act. His commander's name: John Chafee.

Captain Chafee set the standard for bravery, decency, and integrity, not only in war but later in a long and distinguished career: first as Governor of Rhode Island; later, Secretary of the Navy; then in 1976, by election of the people of Rhode Island, a United States Senator, where he would serve with distinction until his death 9 months ago. All of us who love public service and believe in America still miss him very much.

Senator Chafee took on the tough issues, from health care to child care to, most of all, the environment, even when it meant that he had to take on people in his own party. He proved that politics can be an honorable profession. He embodied the decent and vital center that puts progress in the public interest above partisanship.

Today we offer this tribute to the man most people called Senator, but whose rifle-men still proudly called Captain. His wonderful wife, Ginny, and his whole family are here on his behalf. We welcome them all.

Commander, read the citation.

*[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]*

**The President.** In March of 1999, as Slobodan Milosevic unleashed his army and police on the people of Kosovo, General Wesley Clark, NATO's Supreme Commander, was given the first military mission of its kind, directing the forces of a 19-nation alliance to end a brutal campaign of ethnic cleansing.

The stakes were monumental. Almost a million people had been driven from their homes solely because of their ethnic and religious backgrounds. Success would save lives, strengthen NATO, advance the cause of freedom, democracy, and unity in Europe. Failure would leave much of the continent awash in a sea of refugees and end the 20th century on a note of helpless indignation in the face of evil.

Wes Clark well understood the perils of the Balkans, for he had already played a vital role in ending the war in Bosnia and beginning the long process of building a stable, multiethnic democracy in that country. He summoned every ounce of his experience and expertise as a strategist, a soldier, and a statesman to wage our campaign in Kosovo. He prevailed, miraculously, without the loss of a single combat casualty.

At the apex of a long and distinguished military career that goes back to his outstanding performance as a cadet at West Point over 30 years ago, he was assigned a challenge many experts thought was "mission impossible." Instead, thanks to General Clark, we now can declare it "mission accomplished."

Commander, read the citation.

*[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]*

**The President.** As a young officer, Bill Crowe seemed to seize every opportunity for a nontraditional Navy career. He took a leave to earn a master's in education. He passed up an invitation to join the nuclear submarine program so he could earn a Ph.D. in politics at Princeton. A few years later, when Dr. Crowe found himself named Rear Admiral Crowe, he was quite surprised. Only later did he learn that Admiral Zumwalt that year had ordered all naval promotion boards to consider, and I quote, "iconoclasts." *[Laughter]*

Bill Crowe has always been an innovative and independent thinker. He was the first Chairman of the Joint Chiefs with a mandate to promote greater cooperation among the Armed Forces, along with the power to reshape their respective roles and missions. He used that power to build a military more agile and efficient for the global age.

From that chairmanship to his ambassadorship at the Court of Saint James in our administration, Bill Crowe has been the right leader for changing times. Even more, he has, himself, helped to change the times, to enhance our strength, advance the peace, and quicken the march of freedom. He is an iconoclast but an immensely patriotic one.

Commander, read the citation.

*[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]*

**The President.** Her namesake is Marian Anderson, one of the greatest American singers of all time. The power and range of this Marian's voice is even greater. It brought Robert Kennedy to Mississippi, helped to organize the Poor People's Campaign, inspired Hillary and thousands of other citizens, young and old, to join her through the years in the crusade that has become known as the Children's Defense Fund, the base from which she has changed the future for millions of America's children, by grassroots actions and successful lobbying in Congress, for health care, child care, education, and so much more.

Marian Wright Edelman has lived a life of giving. In the process, she has built a family of distinguished citizen-givers. She is a tireless advocate, a driving force, a crusader of conscience. Like her namesake, Marian's voice is always strong and true, singing that we are all children of God and, therefore, must protect all our children.

Commander, read the citation.

*[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]*

**The President.** The first thing you notice about John Kenneth Galbraith is neither his wit nor his intellect; those are the second and third things. First, you notice his height—*[laughter]*—which, like his passion for public service, is a legacy of his father. The elder

Galbraith once told him, "We are obliged because of our enormous size to alter the world to our specifications." [Laughter] That is just what Professor Galbraith has spent a lifetime doing. From the lecture halls of Harvard to wartime Washington to a diplomatic post in India, he has altered our world, making it better, nobler, more just.

It is ironic that John Kenneth Galbraith actually coined the term "conventional wisdom," since he spent his entire life challenging it. [Laughter] He once said he always suspected President Kennedy sent him to India just to be free of his political advice and policy ideas. [Laughter] Actually, President Kennedy drew a lot from those ideas, as have generations of American leaders and thinkers ever since.

Professor Galbraith writes with such eloquence and clarity that his ideas are accessible to all of us, helping us not just to understand the economy but also to remember that it is the providence of more than a privileged few.

Commander, read the citation.

[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]

**The President.** Monsignor George Higgins believes in the dignity of work, and he's not shy about fighting for it. For more than 60 years now, he has organized, marched, prayed, and bled for the social and economic justice of working Americans.

He spoke a fundamental truth when he said, "Work is an important way in which we exercise our humanity. In return, society offers us not only our daily bread but a sense that we, ourselves, are honored for the contributions we make."

Today we honor Monsignor Higgins for his work, for defending the right of working Americans to organize in factories, foundries, and fields and to better their own lives through collective action. His faith and his courage have strengthened not only our Nation's labor unions but our American Union.

Commander, read the citation.

[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]

**The President.** You are now about to witness one of the best things about this cere-

mony; for a change, I don't have to follow Jesse Jackson. [Laughter] But the truth is, America has followed Reverend Jackson, as he marched with Dr. King, walked the picket lines, ran for our Nation's highest office, instilling hope and inspiring millions, beginning with his own remarkable family.

From the streets of Watts to the hollows of Appalachia, as my Special Envoy to Africa and the leader of Rainbow/PUSH, he has walked the walk of freedom. When I think of Rainbow/PUSH, I think of two things: Rainbow means we've all got a place at the table; push is what Jesse does when he thinks I'm not doing right. [Laughter]

He has used his legendary prowess at persuading people to do things they are otherwise disinclined to do to free innocents imprisoned around the world, including American servicemen from the Middle East to the Balkans. With his Wall Street Project, he is forging the next frontier of freedom, economic freedom, reminding us that when we limit opportunities for some Americans, we limit possibilities for all Americans.

His work for years has been an inspiration to the new markets initiative that I have undertaken, along with the Republican and Democratic leaders of the House and Senate, and when it becomes law, it will be in no small measure the result of the powerful example that he has set year after year.

Dr. King said, "Human progress never rolls on the wheels of inevitability. It comes through the tireless efforts of those willing to be co-workers with God." The cause of justice has no greater co-worker than Jesse Jackson. It's hard to imagine how we could have come as far as we have without the creative power, the keen intellect, the loving heart, and the relentless passion of Jesse Louis Jackson. And God isn't done with him yet.

Commander, read the citation.

[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]

**The President.** As a Catholic schoolgirl, Millie Jeffrey dodged the stones of neighborhood bigots and watched as Klansmen marched through town with a burning cross. As a union organizer in Mississippi, she stood bravely as company men snapped bullwhips

at her feet. Clearly, they didn't know whom they were up against. She may be small in stature and humble in manner, but she is very strong.

She worked for Walter Reuther and counseled the Kennedys, influencing all with her courage and her unflagging commitment to social justice. To meet the need for more women in public office, she started the National Women's Political Caucus and sparked the effort to nominate Geraldine Ferraro 16 years ago.

For countless women around the world, she remains an inspiration. Her impact will be felt for generations and her example never forgotten.

Commander, read the citation.

*[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]*

**The President.** Nearly 20 years ago, very few researchers even knew what AIDS was. Even fewer had the courage to speak out about it. Dr. Mathilde Krim was one of the first to grasp its terrible implications. But she was not content simply to raise the alarm. She marshalled others to establish the American Foundation for AIDS Research, raising awareness, raising millions for research, and raising the hopes of countless people bravely confronting this deadly disease.

Despite some promising scientific breakthroughs, we know the fight against AIDS is nowhere near won. As she reminds us, we must not grow complacent. She said recently, we're about halfway on a long road. Thanks to her vision, her ability to inspire, her enduring compassion for those in need, we now travel that road united and determined to prevail.

Commander, read the citation.

*[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]*

**The President.** His roots lie deep in the South Dakota soil, in small-town farms, and the faith of his father, a Methodist pastor. After more than a half century in public life, George McGovern still draws on those teachings and traditions, and he still imparts them to the rest of us by the power of his example, the courage of his convictions, and his proud legacy of public service.

Long before he became a Congressman or Senator or a United States Ambassador, he became a hero. His brave exploits in the skies above Europe earned him the Distinguished Flying Cross and, more important to him, the gratitude of the men he brought safely to ground. Returning home, he taught history, and then set out to make a little history himself, first, winning a seat in Congress, then a few years later creating the Food For Peace program, one of the great achievements of the Kennedy era.

By the time he ran for President in 1972, Senator McGovern was not only a hero in war but a stalwart voice for peace in Vietnam. Hillary and I and several others in this room, including the National Security Adviser, Mr. Berger, and Eli Segal, who started AmeriCorps and our welfare-to-work partnership, were honored to embrace his conviction that we could move our country forward.

For decades, his conviction never wavered. Nor has his early commitment to bringing food to the hungry. Today, he serves as our Ambassador to the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization, and he has pledged to feed half a billion of the world's ill-fed. Senator McGovern and Senator Dole have come together to persuade me, along with Congressman McGovern and Senator McGovern's Senator, Tom Daschle, that the United States should lead the world to get one nutritious meal to every child in every poor country in the world. And I just announced a couple of days ago our first \$300 million contribution to that goal.

This initiative could not only feed hungry children but lead to the enrollment of millions of children not now in school, especially girls in poor countries. So, George McGovern's work continues.

Commander, read the citation.

*[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]*

**The President.** On the wall of his Senate office are two framed magazine covers. One says, "Moynihan: The Conscience of a Neo-conservative." The other says: "Moynihan: Neo-liberal." *[Laughter]* I think he suspects that a great deal of his success in life has come as a result of keeping the rest of us

slightly confused. [Laughter] But whatever label is assigned to him, not a day goes by when Daniel Patrick Moynihan is not brilliantly, dynamically, uniquely himself.

He is Hell's Kitchen and the London School of Economics; a sailor in uniform and a professor in tweeds; a subtle, sophisticated wit, and a tough, blunt critic of social injustice; a man of ideas and a man of action. By this dazzling collection of qualities, Pat Moynihan has served and survived four successive Presidencies, the only American ever to have done so. Most of the people who work for me are glad to have survived one. [Laughter]

He represented American interests in India. He has stood up for our ideals powerfully in the United Nations. New York sent him to the Senate in America's Bicentennial Year, and in the quarter-century since, he has championed diversity and waged without relent the War on Poverty he helped to launch.

I was interested to learn, as Hillary said, that Senator Moynihan actually helped to create the medal he is about to receive. President Kennedy charged him with that task. And as the President decreed, the standard of achievement was set very high, indeed. I know that every American will agree that in the four decades since, Senator Moynihan has exceeded the standards set by every conceivable measure.

Commander, read the citation.

[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]

**The President.** Cruz Reynoso is the son of Mexican immigrants who spent summers working with his family in the fields of the San Joaquin valley. As a child, he loved reading so much, his elementary school classmates called him *El Profe*, the Professor.

Later, some told him to put aside his dreams of college, saying bluntly, they will never let you in. But with faith in himself and the values of our country, Cruz Reynoso went on to college and to law school but never forgot his roots. He worked for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and led the pioneering California Rural Legal Assistance Program. In 1976 he was appointed Associate Justice of the California

Court of Appeals and rose to become the first Latino to serve on the State's highest court.

Today, he continues to labor in the fields of justice, serving as Vice Chair of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, opening new doors for Latino lawyers and teaching a new generation of students the world of law. Not long ago, the person his classmates once called *El Profe*, was voted by his own students Professor of the Year.

Commander, read the citation.

[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]

**The President.** In the New Testament Book of Romans, it is written: "And how shall they hear without a preacher?" The Lord may have had that passage in mind the day Gardner Taylor was born, or once again, years later, when a terrible car accident convinced him to abandon law school and enter the ministry. His eloquence has inspired generations, helping us to see the hard challenges of life in the revealing light of Scripture.

As founder of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Reverend Taylor helped to galvanize black churches all across America in the struggle for human rights. As a pastor in Brooklyn, he has worked to repair the breach, whether racial, political, or economic. He speaks not just from the Scriptures but from his soul. The gift God gave him, he, in turn, has shared with us.

For at least 20 years now, if anyone made a list of the five or six greatest preachers in America, Gardner Taylor would always be at the top. For those of us who heard him preach, and those of us whom he has counseled in his private wisdom, we know we have been in the presence of not only a man of God but a great American citizen.

Commander, read the citation.

[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]

**The President.** "When millions were murdered, why was I allowed to live?" For more than half a century, Simon Wiesenthal has asked himself this question again and again. To those who know his story, one of miraculous survival and of relentless pursuit

of justice, the answer is apparent. From the unimaginable horrors of the Holocaust, only a few voices survived to bear witness, to hold the guilty accountable, to honor the memory of those who were killed. Only if we heed these brave voices can we build a bulwark of humanity against the hatred and indifference that is still all too prevalent in this world of ours.

I'm struck by another question Mr. Wiesenthal once posed: How does one explain to a young person what freedom means when he has been born to freedom? Answering this question is our common moral responsibility and our enduring challenge.

Mr. Wiesenthal is 91 years old now, and he had a little fall last week and, regrettably, couldn't be here with us today. He's all the way over in Europe, in Vienna, but he is listening to us by telephone. Rabbi Marvin Hier will receive the award on his behalf. We thank him for a lifetime of service and example and reminder and for the astonishing work of the Wiesenthal Center. And after the citation has been read, I want you to have a little extra umphf in your applause so he'll be able to hear it all the way over in Europe.

Commander, read the citation.

*[Commander Gilday read the citation, and the President presented the medal.]*

**The President.** You know, today's honorees come from an astonishing array of backgrounds. Their experiences and their service are remarkably different. Yet they share in common a devotion to freedom and its expansion, to being good citizens, to serving their fellow human beings. Everyone in our country has been enriched by the service of everyone on this stage.

President Johnson said when he first presented this award that no words could add to the distinction of the men and women being honored today; rather, their names add distinction to this award. Even more, I believe, that is true today. They have added distinction, richness, depth, and freedom to American life. For that, the rest of us are proud, ennobled, and grateful.

Hillary and I again want to thank you all for coming. We ask you to join us now in the State Dining Room for a reception. But first I ask you to express your support and

gratitude once more for this remarkable group of citizens. *[Applause]*

NOTE: The President spoke at 3:42 p.m. in the East Room at the White House. In his remarks, he referred to President Slobodan Milosevic of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro); former Senator Bob Dole; and Rabbi Marvin Hier, dean, Simon Wiesenthal Center.

### Statement on the Surgeon General's Report on Tobacco

August 9, 2000

A new report today by the Surgeon General demonstrating that we can cut tobacco use in half over the next decade lends strong new impetus to our fight against the dangers of cigarette smoking. Over 400,000 Americans die every year from tobacco-related diseases. Every day, 3,000 children under the age of 18 start smoking, and 1,000 will have their lives cut short as a result. Today's report not only underscores the urgency of reducing tobacco use—the single leading cause of preventable death and disease in the United States—but also provides powerful scientific evidence about the wide range of effective tools available to get the job done.

Vice President Gore and I have worked hard to protect our Nation's children from the dangers of tobacco. Today I again urge Congress to provide FDA with the authority to protect our Nation's children and to fund my budget initiatives to reduce youth smoking. I also call on Congress to support the Department of Justice lawsuit to recover the taxpayer costs of tobacco-related illness by holding the tobacco industry accountable for the harm it has caused. When Congress returns in September, it will have another opportunity to join us in making the health of our children a priority by rejecting the interests of big tobacco and letting the American taxpayers have their day in court.

Today's report also reinforces the importance of comprehensive State tobacco control efforts, which have demonstrated powerful results in reducing tobacco use in leading States. I renew my call for more States to use the resources available from the State



tobacco settlement on efforts to reduce smoking among our young people.

### **Statement on Terrorist Violence in Spain**

*August 9, 2000*

On behalf of all Americans, I wish to express my condolences to the families of the recent victims of terrorist violence in Spain. We stand with the people of Spain who condemn these cowardly acts and hope the perpetrators will be brought swiftly to justice. There is no place for violence and terrorism in the pursuit of political goals.

### **Statement on Signing the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, FY 2001**

*August 9, 2000*

Today I have signed into law H.R. 4576, the "Department of Defense Appropriations Act, FY 2001." The bill approves funds to cover the Department's most critical needs, consistent with my request that reflected my strong commitment to our Nation's security. Our high military readiness must remain our top national security priority.

H.R. 4576 provides funding for all critical Defense activities—pay and other quality of life programs, readiness, and weapons modernization. The bill fully funds key compensation initiatives, including my request for a 3.7 percent pay increase for military personnel. I am pleased that the conferees agreed to provide full funding for a new pharmacy benefit for military retirees over the age of 65. This funding will ensure that those who dedicated their lives to military service benefit from comprehensive prescription drug coverage. I urge the Congress to provide a similar benefit to all retirees through the Medicare program. Additionally, the bill funds my requests for training, spare parts, equipment maintenance, and base operations—all items essential to military readiness.

I am also pleased that H.R. 4576 fully funds key modernization programs such as the F-22 fighter aircraft, the CVN-77 Nu-

clear Aircraft Carrier, and National Missile Defense. Finally, Public Law 106-246, the Emergency Supplemental Act, FY 2000, repealed provisions that were contained in the 1997 bipartisan budget agreement that would have shifted certain VA and SSI payments from FY 2000 to FY 2001. I am pleased that the bill does not reverse the repeal of these provisions and thus ensures that recipients will receive their payments on time.

Unfortunately, H.R. 4576 goes beyond what is necessary, providing funding for a host of unrequested programs at the expense of other core Government activities. It provides \$287.5 billion in discretionary budget authority for programs funded by this bill. This funding level is \$3.2 billion above my request, and \$17.5 billion above the FY 2000 enacted level. My budget correctly addressed our most important FY 2001 military needs. Additionally, while the bill, in its entirety, provides sufficient funds to meet known contingency operations costs for FY 2001, it resorts to an emergency funding technique to meet the Appropriations Subcommittee allocation; it includes about \$1.8 billion of standard operation and maintenance funding, which was requested in the FY 2001 Budget on a nonemergency basis, as FY 2000 emergency supplemental funding, of which \$1.1 billion will be used to forward fund FY 2001 contingency operations in Kosovo, Bosnia, and Southwest Asia. Moreover, half of the funding for the pharmacy benefits for military retirees over the age of 65 is designated as an emergency.

Regrettably, the bill also denies or reduces the necessary funds for key programs included in my request. The resulting cuts are troubling. I am disappointed that the bill does not fund the chemical weapons destruction facility at Shchuch'ye, Russia, which is vital to our security and international non-proliferation efforts. The significant cuts in the bill to both our Cooperative Threat Reduction Defense and Military Contacts program and the Partnership for Peace program will noticeably undermine these initiatives. I am also concerned that the bill makes reductions to my request for the Joint Strike Fighter and LPD-17 amphibious ship program.

Lastly, the bill does not fund the \$324 million a year required for wage credits to Social

Security for certain military, nontaxable income. I urge the Congress to adopt legislation I proposed, which would eliminate the requirement for the payments.

While I am disappointed that the Congress has funded FY 2001 activities through FY 2000 emergency funds—an approach that should not be repeated—I will designate as emergency requirements the FY 2000 funds in the Act that the Congress has so designated.

I have signed this bill because, on balance, it demonstrates our commitment to the military, meets our obligations to the troops, maintains readiness, and funds modernization efforts that will ensure our technological edge in the 21st Century.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
August 9, 2000.

NOTE: H.R. 4576, approved August 9, was assigned Public Law No. 106–259.

**Executive Order 13165—Creation of the White House Task Force on Drug Use in Sports and Authorization for the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy To Serve as the United States Government’s Representative on the Board of the World Anti-Doping Agency**

*August 9, 2000*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the Office of National Drug Control Reauthorization Act of 1998, (21 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*), and in order to develop recommendations for Federal agency actions to address the use of drugs in sports, in particular among young people, it is hereby ordered as follows:

**Section 1. Policy.** The use of drugs in sports has reached a level that endangers not just the legitimacy of athletic competition but also the lives and health of athletes—from the elite ranks to youth leagues. The National Household Survey on Drug Abuse issued in 1999 found that in just 1 year’s time the rate of steroid use among young people rose

roughly 50 percent among both sexes and across all age groups. It is the policy of my Administration to take the steps needed to help eliminate illicit or otherwise banned drug use and doping in sports at the State, national, and international level.

**Sec. 2. Establishment of a White House Task Force on Drug Use in Sports.** (a) There is established a White House Task Force on Drug Use in Sports (Task Force). The Task Force shall comprise the co-vice chairs of the White House Olympic Task Force (the “Olympic Task Force Vice Chairs”), and representatives designated by the Office of National Drug Control Policy, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of Labor, the President’s Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, the Office of Management and Budget, the National Security Council, the Department of State, the Department of the Treasury, the Department of Education, the Department of Justice, the Department of Transportation, the National Institute on Drug Abuse, and the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration.

(b) The Task Force shall develop recommendations for the President on further executive and legislative actions that can be undertaken to address the problem of doping and drug use in sports. In developing the recommendations, the Task Force shall consider, among other things: (i) the health and safety of America’s athletes, in particular our Nation’s young people; (ii) the integrity of honest athletic competition; and (iii) the views and recommendations of State and local governments, the private sector, citizens, community groups, and nonprofit organizations, on actions to address this threat. The Task Force, through its Chairs, shall submit its recommendations to the President.

(c) The Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy (the Director), the Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services, and the Olympic Task Force Vice Chairs or their designees shall serve as the Task Force Chairs.

(d) To the extent permitted by law and at the request of the Chairs, agencies shall cooperate with and provide information to the Task Force.

**Sec. 3. Participation in the World Anti-Doping Agency.** (a) As part of my Administration's efforts to address the problem of drug use in sports, the United States has played a leading role in the formation of a World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) by the Olympic and sports community and the nations of the world. Through these efforts, the United States has been selected to serve as a governmental representative on the board of the WADA. This order will authorize the Director to serve as the United States Government's representative on the WADA board.

(b) Pursuant to 21 U.S.C. 1701 *et seq.*, the Director, or in his absence his designee, is hereby authorized to take all necessary and proper actions to execute his responsibilities as United States representative to the WADA.

(c) To assist the Director in carrying out these responsibilities as the United States Government representative to the WADA and to the extent permitted by law, Federal employees may serve in their official capacity, *inter alia*, on WADA Committees or WADA advisory committees, serving as experts to the WADA.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
August 9, 2000.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register, 8:45 a.m., August 11, 2000]

NOTE: This Executive order was published in the *Federal Register* on August 14.

### **Remarks at a Dinner for Hillary Clinton in McLean, Virginia**

*August 9, 2000*

Thank you very much, Claire. Thank you for your wonderful words, and I thank you and Al once again for being so generous. And I want to say to all of you what I said to them at dinner—I apologize that we had to reschedule this, but it worked out very well. I was involved in the Camp David peace talks at the time we were going to have this dinner before. I think that—believe it or not, we still might get there, and at least we headed

off a disaster and got them talking about the fundamental issues, really for the first time in an official setting. So it was very good.

Claire asked me if I'd be willing to answer a couple of questions, and I have to go on to another event tonight because we had to double up since we rescheduled, but what I think I'll do is abbreviate my remarks and then maybe answer some questions.

I would just like to say a couple of things. In 1992 the country was in trouble, and I heard it in the stories of individuals all over the country. A lot of people have forgotten it now. And I ran for President because I thought that there was no plan for getting us out of the trouble we were in and maximizing the opportunities that were before the country. So I put together a plan.

And some of you who are political junkies may even remember that when I went to New Hampshire, only Paul Tsongas and I put out little detailed books of exactly where we stood on the issues, and people actually, a lot of them, made fun of us. Nobody is so wonky they're going to read this 30- or 40-page book. But it turned out we got the biggest crowds at the town meetings because people knew America was in trouble, and they wanted to know exactly what we were going to do.

And when I got elected with Vice President Gore on the commitment to put people first and restore the principles of opportunity, responsibility, and community to our national life, we actually implemented an economic plan and a crime plan and a welfare reform plan and an education plan and an environmental plan and a plan to downsize the Government in a way that would enable us to be more active but less oppressive in the way the Federal Government operated, and health care initiatives—right across the board.

And the country has benefited. Whenever a democracy does well, most of the credit goes to the people who live there, not the politicians who serve. But it is clearly true that what we did was to establish the conditions and give the people the tools with which they have made astonishing progress in the last 8 years.

So the question before the American people is, now what? My strong conviction is that

the American people should not be lulled into a sense of complacency because of our prosperity and our social progress but instead should realize that this might be the most important chance in our entire lifetime that we ever get as a people—any of us in this room—to really build the future of our dreams for our kids; that change is the only constant in the global information society, nothing stays the same forever; and we need to be focused on what the big challenges, the big opportunities are. We ought to vote for people we believe will help to make the most of this magic moment.

And essentially, that's why Hillary decided to run for the Senate—that and the fact that half a dozen or more New York House Members came and asked her to run. And then she went up to New York and spent some time, and we talked about it. She was, frankly, reluctant to give up our last year in the White House and all the fun and enjoyment, the relaxation, the savoring of successes. But she knew that the things that can be done now are the things that she's worked on and dreamed about for 30 years, ever since I first met her.

When we met in law school, she took another year—she took a fourth year in law school so she could work at the Yale hospital in the child study center on legal and health issues affecting children. When we went home to Arkansas, she led the move to build our first neonatal nursery at the Children's Hospital and then organized a group called the Arkansas Advocates for Families and Children. By the time I was elected President—and our little State was what my predecessor used to affectionately call a small southern State of which I was Governor—[laughter]—had the seventh biggest children's hospital in America.

And since she has been First Lady, she has taken an unprecedented role in issues affecting children and families, from lobbying for the family and medical leave law in 1993 to having the first White House conference on early childhood and brain development, dealing with issues of violence, working on the Children's Health Insurance Program, and a lot of the education initiatives we've done, to her, literally, nationally recognized work to make it easier for people to

adopt children, to adopt across racial lines, to provide incentives to adopt children with disabilities, and to do better by the kids who are in foster care and especially children who age out of foster care. She has really done an amazing job, I think.

And then, for the last 2 years she has been running our millennial program, giving a wonderful series of lectures at the White House on the big issues of the future. We've brought in people from all over the world to talk about—and launching this Save America's Treasures program. The head of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Dick Moe, told me a couple of weeks ago, when we were saving Abraham Lincoln's summer cottage at the Old Soldiers' Home in Washington, he said that Hillary's millennial treasures program has now provided the impetus for over \$100 million for investment in historic preservation. That's 60 percent public money, 40 percent private money. It is the largest, single historic preservation effort in the history of the United States.

So what she recognized was that I've done everything I could to turn this country around, leave it in good shape, get us into the 21st century going in the right direction. But all the great stuff is out there still. And we need people to carry on the work. That's why she took what I thought was a personally brave decision, after 30 years of helping other people in every election, to try to run herself. I'm very proud of her. And the latest Quinnipiac College poll had her up 3 points today—it came out today. And I think she's going to do well.

But it's a very expensive election, and as you know, it has been heavily targeted, not only by the Republican Party but by their affiliate groups that didn't think much of anything we did. [Laughter]

So we like—we love our time in New York. We've got a wonderful house in Chappaqua. It's a 111-year-old farmhouse. And I'm looking forward to the years ahead. I think she's going to win this race, but it's going to be quite expensive and quite controversial and quite difficult. But she's in good shape, and she has done an astonishing amount of work over the last year and a half to make sure that she is the Senate candidate that has actually been to all the counties in New York,

that actually knows a lot about the upstate economy, the rural economy, the farm economy, the things most people who think of New York know nothing about. And I'm very, very proud of her.

I feel the same way basically—I want to make the same argument about Al Gore and Joe Lieberman, who has been my friend for 30 years, since I supported him when he ran for the State Senate in 1970, when I was a first-year law student at Yale and he was a 28-year-old graduate there. And we worked together for 15 years in the Democratic Leadership Council.

The issue is whether we're going to keep the change going in the direction of the last 8 year or take a U-turn. That's basically what the issue is. And I think that what we ought to do, those of us who agree with that, ought to take it as our mission from here to November to do two things. One is to make people understand this election is a very big deal.

Look, we had a huge voter turnout in '92, huge, because everybody knew it was a big deal. I mean, our backs were against the wall. We had high unemployment. We had exploding welfare rolls. We had high crime rates. We had all the sort of social division and acrimony and riots in L.A., and we had a sense of political paralysis here. And there was a lot of wedge politics, pitting one group against the other. And you didn't have to be a genius to figure out it was pretty important.

Someone gave me that great saying in 1992 that insanity is doing the same thing over and over and over again and expecting a different result. So the people gave us a chance to serve. Now, however, I think you can make a compelling case that how you use your prosperity is just as stern a test of your judgment, your values, and your character as a nation as how you deal with adversity.

In my lifetime we never had a chance like this, so much economic prosperity, social progress, the absence of domestic crisis or foreign threat. We get to decide what kind of future we want for our children—huge, huge thing. So you have to go around and convince people of that, because all these surveys show that most people think, "Ah, things are going so well, who could mess it up? It's not this big election."

The second thing that we have to say is, you have to bring clarity of choice to this election, because people have to understand there are real consequences and profound differences. I enjoyed the Republican Convention, and I was flattered by all the rhetorical devices which recalled, apparently, exact phrases and things I said over the last 8 years, and according to a news story I saw. And I don't think we should minimize it. It's a good thing for them to stop being harsh and mean-spirited in their rhetoric. That's a good thing. But there was a difference between changing the rhetoric and changing the policies of the party.

We actually came out with policies that were new in 1992, different on the economy, on crime, on welfare, on education, on the environment—right across the board—foreign policy. So we have to bring clarity, because there wasn't much clarity. If you saw at the end of the—all the news stories of interviewing undecided voters at the end of their convention said, "Well, we liked what we saw, and it sure felt good. But we don't know what they're going to do. We don't have a sense of that."

Now, there are profound differences on economic policy. Principally, they want to spend all the surplus on tax cuts, leaving nothing to lengthen the life of Social Security and Medicare, leaving nothing to pay for their Social Security privatization programs or Star Wars or anything they promised to pay for. We want to spend much less than half—just a little over a quarter of what they do, but 80 percent of the people would get more money out of it, because we want to pay this country out of debt and keep investing in education and technology and health care.

We were just talking before we came up here about long-term care needs. The average person in America who lives to be 65 today has a life expectancy of 83. People over 80 are the fastest growing people in America, percentage-wise. We have to reimagine old age in America. It's going to be totally different than it ever has been. And as I never tire of saying, the other reason that they're wrong on their economic policy is, besides the fact that they don't leave any money for their own spending promises, the second

thing is if you spend all this, then you won't pay us out of debt. And that will keep interest rates higher, and that will cost most Americans more money in higher interest rates than they'll get in a tax cut.

I'll just tell you what the numbers are. One percent for a decade on interest rates—one percent equals \$250 billion in home mortgage payments, \$30 billion in car payments, \$15 billion in college loan payments; never mind the impact on business loans, which affects business growth, employment, and income.

The other thing, as I've said over and over again, is this is a projected surplus. It's not there yet. And if I ask you what your projected income is for the next decade, and you thought about it, and I said, "Now, be real sure. Be conservative. Be pretty sure. This is an optimistic projection, but you be conservative," and I said, "Okay, right now I want you to contract, binding contract to spend it all right now"—if you would do that, you should actually seriously consider supporting them in this election. *[Laughter]* But if you wouldn't, you probably ought to stick with us and keep this thing going.

Now, there are same differences on crime and gun safety, on health care policy, on education policy—I could go through them all—on choice and the question of who gets appointed to the Supreme Court, which is not just about choice; it's about civil rights, civil rights enforcement.

So this is a huge election. And Al Gore understands what's happened the last 8 years and has been an integral part of every good thing that's happened. He has a keen understanding of the future. He understands the implications of the human genome project, not only the potential for it but the privacy issues that were raised. He understands climate change, and now nobody is making fun of him anymore, like they did in 1992 and 1988. It turns out he was right all along.

But still they took a dig at him at the Republican Convention on the Internet because, like a lot of things people said about me—he did not say he invented the Internet. There is an article in the Washington Monthly or one of those things, which was—he said, yes, he said he was instrumental in creating—he sponsored legislation that helped to create

it." The actual fact is, the Internet was for a long time a defense research project that was the private province of research physicists. There was a bill introduced and passed which essentially helped to make the Internet technology available to businesses and individuals, from which—growing out of that, it became worldwide, the fastest growing communications network in all of human history by a good long ways.

Do you know how many sites there were on the World Wide Web when I became President? Fifty, 5-0—50. You know how many there are today? About 15 million—7 years.

So we've got two people running for President, and the Vice President understands all this stuff. They've got the right economic policy. And the most important thing to me is, they want us all to go along for the ride. They want the people that worked here and made this dinner possible tonight to have the same chance we do to send their kids to college. They want employment and nondiscrimination and hate crimes legislation, and they don't think gay people ought to be discriminated against, as long as they show up for work every day and obey the law like everybody else. They believe in the minimum wage and Patients' Bill of Rights. They passionately share these things that I have worked so hard to advance.

So if you want to keep the prosperity going and keep America more justified and keep ahead of the future, I think it's an easy choice—for Al, for Joe, and for Hillary.

Thank you for your money, but remember, when you leave here, every one of you have great networks of friends and family. You need to make sure people understand. It is a big issue, this election. There are big differences. And clarity of our choice is our friend. If the choice is clear, our side wins.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 8:45 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to dinner hosts Claire and Al Dwoskin; and Republican Presidential nominee Gov. George W. Bush of Texas.

## Remarks at a Dinner for Hillary Clinton

August 9, 2000

Thank you. Thanks for the tie. You know, I got interested in ties when I realized that the older and grayer I got, the more it would be the only sort of fashion statement I could ever make for the rest of my life. Thank you, Tom; thank you, Pam; thank you, Brasim, and thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for coming.

I'll tell you what I would like to do. I'd like to just talk for a couple of minutes and then just have a conversation. If you have any questions you want to ask, anything you want to say to me, I will be glad to do it. We kind of started our dinner that way.

But I want to begin by thanking you for coming here and for helping Hillary. And I wanted to just give you a little background on that. I am immensely proud of her for making this race. And we just got a good poll today from Quinnipiac College, saying that she was ahead 46 to 43, which I think is quite good. And if you understand anything about New York democratic politics, if you go into election day and you're two or three points ahead, you're going to be just fine.

So I feel good about that, and I'm very proud of her because, you know, we had actually been looking forward to this year and being able to relax a little bit. We knew we'd have to work hard for the Vice President and now for Senator Lieberman and for our crowd in Congress. But we also looked forward to the nights at the White House and enjoying our last year there and going to Camp David. And my wife gave up a lot of that because she understood that it was important to carry on the work that we have been about this last 8 years and because half a dozen or more New York House Members asked her to do it, and she got up and spent her time—she's been to every county in New York now, and she fell in love with it and figured out that what they needed and wanted was the same thing she had been working on for 30 years.

I can tell you this, for 30 years all she ever did was help everybody else, and I'm kind of proud of her for sort of venturing out on

her own now and trying to do something for herself.

I wanted to mention just a couple of things because I think it's quite important. I think it's important that the people of New York know, the voters know that what she did as First Lady and what she did before. So if you can help us with that, I'd appreciate it.

She had basically had an unprecedented level of activity in her present position over the last 8 years. She's been active in lobbying for specific pieces of legislation from the family and medical leave law to the Children's Health Insurance Program to the several bills we passed that dramatically expanded the availability of adoptions, gave tax credits to people who would adopt children with disabilities, did more for kids in foster care and for kids that are leaving the foster care system—which is the product of a lifetime of commitment for her.

She has been very active in promoting a lot of our education initiatives. She had the first-ever White House conference on early childhood and brain development, which is a very important issue; on violence against children, we had a big meeting on that that she put on. And the last thing that she did as First Lady that may have, ironically, one of the most enduring impacts was to basically run all of our millennial efforts. We came up with this slogan for the millennium that we would "honor the past and imagine the future."

And we've essentially done two things. We've had a series, probably 10 now, of lectures and dialogs at the White House on big issues that will define the next several years in the new century. The last one on exploring the ocean depths and exploring outer space and what's in those black holes. And they've been followed widely all over the world. It's been amazing. And it was just her idea to put it together. We had the famous scientist Stephen Hawking, who as you may know, has lived longer with Lou Gehrig's disease than anybody in history, still teaching at Cambridge, in England, came all the way across the ocean and gave us a lecture and talked on his little electronic machine about the whole concept of time and space and how it would change in the new century.

And then in terms of honoring the past, she set up this millennial treasures event to do everything from save the Star-Spangled Banner and the Constitution and the Bill of Rights to specific sites in communities all over America. We were just up on Martha's Vineyard. There is a 19th century tabernacle there that was used for a hundred years for Bible study in the first integrated event, racially integrated event, starting right after the Civil War in America, to Abraham Lincoln's summer home at the Old Soldiers' Home in Washington.

And last week when we were up there, 2 weeks ago, Dick Moe, the head of the National Preservation Historic Trust—Historic Preservation Trust, said that Hillary's millennium treasures effort was the single largest historic preservation movement in the history of the United States. So, she's done a good job as First Lady. She's made a difference in people's lives.

Before she ever got here, the whole—every year I was Governor and before when I was attorney general, she gave up huge portions of her income as a private lawyer to devote time to public service, just like she gave away all the money she made on that book, which was number one on the New York Times bestseller list, because she always believed in public service.

But she also served on corporate boards, learned a lot about economics, helped to bring jobs to poor areas in our State while she was trying to improve education and do all the things she's done. And along the way, she chaired the committee that rewrote all the education standards in our State. She's the best organized person I ever worked with, with the best blend of mind and heart and policy knowledge. She's perfect for the U.S. Senate, and I think she's going to win. She'll be great at it.

But all the people that are trying to beat her will spare no effort or no expense. Therefore, it's critical that you've done what you've done. If she has the resources, she'll do just fine. She won't let you down, and she'll be great in the Senate.

The only other point I want to make about that generally is, I've done everything I know to do to kind of turn our country around from the very difficult circumstances which existed

in 1991 and 1992 when I was running. Our Nation has never had the present combination of economic prosperity, social progress, the absence of domestic crisis or foreign threat, and national self-confidence we've got now. And it's very important that this work continue. And that means that every Senate seat and every House seat is pivotally important.

It also means, from my point of view, that this national election is pivotally important. A lot of you have been going to these events that I do, and I had this little mantra. I'll say it again. I say I always tell people there are three very important things you need to know about this election: It is a big election; there are big differences; and our party is the only party that wants you to know what the differences really are. What does that tell you about who you ought to vote for?

But it's actually, in fact, true. If you saw what the undecided voter said after our friends met in Philadelphia, they said, "Gosh, we like those people. They look great, and they look like they're not being mean and rightwing anymore. They're being inclusive. But what do they stand for, anyway?" That's what they said. The undecided voters said, "I liked what I saw, but I didn't hear anything. I don't know what they're going to do if they get in."

And there are a lot of stories which say, "Well, people—pretty relaxed about this election. After all, things are so good in America. Why be—you know, sort of a don't-worry-be-happy election?" And then there was a huge story on the cover of—I think it was USA Today not very long ago, saying that the people didn't know if there was any difference between the two candidates on their economic policy—the two candidates for President.

So I just would say to you—in addition to this incredible generosity tonight to Hillary, and thank you for rescheduling this, because I was in the Camp David peace talks before when we were supposed to do it—every one of you has a big network of friends and co-workers and colleagues. Maybe they're people that share your politics but may not be as energized as you are. Maybe they're people who don't share your politics at all or don't think about politics much. But



let me just say, I've lived long enough now to know that people often make mistakes, not because they're living under such adversity but because things are going along so well they just stop concentrating. And anybody who lives to be beyond the age of 30 can cite at least one time in his or her life when you have made a mistake because things were going so well you just stopped thinking.

And this is a phenomenal opportunity for us to basically decide what we want the future to look like, and then go do it. And change is the only constant, particularly in today's economy. Nothing stays the same forever. We need to make the most of this.

The second thing is there really are just huge differences here. I mean, there are big differences in economic policy, in crime policy, in health care policy, in education policy, environmental policy, right down the line. And in our policy on building one America, whether we should have a minimum wage, hate crimes legislation, employment non-discrimination legislation, whether we should preserve or get rid of a woman's right to choose—all these things are at stake here. The next President will make two to four appointments to the Supreme Court. U.S. Senators will confirm them, or not. So there's a lot at stake.

And the only other thing I want to say is let me just briefly ask you to think about this economic question, because their line—you can say their line quicker than ours, and it sounds so much better. They say, "Gosh, we're going to have this \$2 trillion surplus, and it's your money, and we're going to give it back to you in a tax cut." And we say, "Now, wait a minute. You want a \$2 trillion tax cut, but that leaves you nothing to provide prescription drugs for Medicare people or deal with long-term care or deal with the baby boomers retiring on Social Security or Medicare. And if you want to partially privatize Social Security and protect the benefits of everybody who is on Social Security, that alone costs another trillion dollars. And you haven't paid for Star Wars yet or anything else."

So in other words, how can you give it all away with a tax cut? We say, "We'll only give about a quarter as big a tax cut as they will because we think we have to have money

to invest in education, health care, the environment, and science and technology, and because we want to keep paying the debt down and get this country out of debt, and we're going to have to take care of all these baby boomers when they retire." Now, it takes me longer to say that, but let me put it to you in another way.

I asked the Council of Economic Advisers to tell me what the difference was between the \$2 trillion tax cut, being conservative and all—in other words, giving all the other side the benefit of the doubt—and the plan that I have embraced, that the Vice President and Senator Lieberman are now working on. They say that the Gore plan will keep interest rates at least—at least—one percent below the Republican plan every year for a decade. That is worth \$250 billion in home mortgages, \$30 billion in car payments, \$15 billion in college loan payments; never mind the fact that it means lower business loans, which means more business loans, more growth, more jobs, and a better stock market.

And I haven't even gotten to the main point, which is what are we going to do if the surplus doesn't materialize and we give it away in advance by giving it all away in a tax cut? I never thought—I'm up here—you may remember that during the primary I was actually attacked and, by extension, the Vice President was, for being so insistent on continuing to pay down the debt. I was attacked from the left. But the best social program is a job. And this is a more just country than it was 8 years ago because child poverty has dropped, income is going up in all quintiles, the female unemployment rate is the lowest it's been in 40 years, the single-parent household poverty rate is the lowest it's been in 46 years. The economy does that for you.

And I'm telling you, this is really—it's wrong for us to get off this path we've been on of driving this debt down, keeping the interest rates as low as we can, and letting the technology and the explosion in productivity, which was a 5 percent increase in the last quarter over the same period last year—keep taking this thing along until we bring everybody along in this economy.

And I know a lot of you have heard me say this before; I would to tell you one more

time. Their position, which is, "Let's give everybody a tax cut. It's your money, because we project it"—it really does remind me of these Publishers Clearing House, these sweepstake letters you get from Ed McMahon. "You may have won \$10 million." You may have. And everybody that went out the next day and spent the \$10 million should seriously consider supporting the Republicans in this election. [Laughter] Every single one of them. But everybody else ought to stick with us and keep this thing going.

And that's just one difference. But I'm telling you, it is—there really is—I've dealt with a Republican Congress now for 5 years, and I've found a lot of common ground with Speaker Hastert. We're going to pass this new markets legislation, I think, this year. We passed the Africa/Caribbean Basin trade bill with the help of the Republican and the Democratic leadership, where Senator Lott and Senator Daschle worked together. I work every which way I can. But I promise you, this is—it is a profound philosophical difference.

They actually believe it's okay to have tax cuts based on a hundred percent of the projected surplus. And I can tell you—people ask me all the time—Bob Rubin and I were together the other day at his portrait unveiling, and we were talking about how we started the economic team and Lloyd Bentsen was my first Treasury Secretary and all that. And all these guys came up to me—one guy says to me, he says, "Well, Mr. President, what was the principal economic reform you brought to Washington. What do you think was the principal thing you've done that led to all this incredible growth, and what was the main change?" And I said, "Arithmetic." [Laughter] "We brought back arithmetic. We stopped spending money we didn't have. We stopped projecting in a rosy way. We stopped acting like all this stuff falls from trees and the sky. And we started working in a disciplined way to make hard choices."

So I'm just telling you, Hillary needs your help; the Vice President and Senator Lieberman need your help; America needs your help. Every one of you has a network. We've got a chance to keep this economy going and spread its benefits. But the first and foremost thing we have to decide is, are

we going to continue the disciplined path of the last 8 years, taking advantage of the fact that we can do more than we could when I came in because we've turned it around, or are we going to back to the policy which says all tax cuts are good whether you've got the money or not, give it away, and worry about the consequences later?

Now, we've tried it both ways. You had 12 years of one way; now you've had 8 years the other way. And you can add up the evidence either way and draw your own conclusion. But the only way we can get in trouble is if people don't think about it like that, if they don't really think it's a big election, if they think this thing is so strong you couldn't mess it up with a stick of dynamite, if they don't understand with clarity the choice there. Clarity is our friend.

You can be positive and upbeat, and you should be. You never have to say a bad word about any of our opponents. Just talk about the differences, and let people decide. We've been around here over 200 years now because usually the people get it right if they have enough time and enough information.

The final thing I want to say is I want to thank Tom for what he said about Ireland and the Middle East. It's been the great joy of my life to labor for peace, which is the highest example of what Harry Truman said is the essential work of the Presidency, which is trying to persuade people to do what they should do without having to be asked in the first place. [Laughter]

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:15 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to dinner cohosts Tom Quinn and Pam and Brasim Ekpone.

### Remarks in a Roundtable Discussion on Higher Education in Chicago, Illinois

August 10, 2000

**The President.** Thank you very much, Ken. Ladies and gentlemen, thank you for this warm welcome. I didn't know if we could stir up so many students in the middle of the summer. [Laughter] But I'm delighted to see you all here.

I want to thank Representative Rob Blagojevich for joining me, and also, behind me, Representative Bobby Rush and John Stroger and Tom Hines. And there are a lot of other of my friends here, but I want to thank them all for coming. And I want to recognize that I have one special young man who works for me in the Department of Cabinet Affairs in the White House, Sean O'Shea, who is here with me. He's an alumnus of DePaul.

There's been a lot of talk in the press lately about this whole issue of legacy, and that means when you've got one leg in the political grave, that's what they start talking to you about. *[Laughter]* But I think I should note that DePaul educated two generations of Daley mayors. Now, that's a real legacy. And I congratulate you on that.

I also—I saw that Princeton Review survey saying that your students were the happiest. And I thought to myself, they're not happy because there are no academic standards here. That would be bad. *[Laughter]* They must be happy because of the atmosphere, the culture, the way people relate to each other across all their differences. And that is an enormous tribute, and you should be very proud of that. And maybe it has something to do with the basketball team, too. *[Laughter]*

Let me say to all of you, we are here because all of us know that when we open the doors of college, we open the doors of opportunity; we give people the chance to live out their own dreams. And in the process, we strengthen our Nation and our ability to contribute to the progress of the entire world.

I got to go to college because I had, in college and law school, scholarships, loans, and lots of jobs. And if I hadn't had all three of those things, I wouldn't have had a chance to go. And if I hadn't had a chance to go, I wouldn't be here today.

I think it is important to recognize that while a college education has always been profoundly significant for certain jobs, like the one that you've made it possible for me to hold over the last 7½, it's more important than it's ever been for all kinds of people in all kinds of ways.

The number of new jobs in the years just ahead requiring a bachelor's degree will grow

twice as fast as those which don't. The three fastest growing occupations require at least a bachelor's degree, and all three pay much better than average wages. Twenty years ago college graduates earned about 40 percent more than high school graduates. In the new information economy, the gap has almost doubled. If we value opportunity for all, as we say we do here in America, we have to provide all Americans access to opportunity, and that means access to college.

From the very start, our administration has worked hard on this. I was telling our panelists on the way out here, I got interested in this whole issue when I was Governor, and we basically got rid of State tuition for everybody in our State that had a certain grade average or above. And we increased scholarships and loan aids.

But I got into it because in the 1980's I kept running into young people who told me that they had started college and dropped out because they had become convinced they would never be able to repay all their loans, especially those, ironically, that we needed the most, the ones who wanted to be police officers, teachers, nurses, that wanted to be in the serving, helping, socially strengthening professions. And we can't allow that to happen.

I just talked to your president, Father Minogue, on the telephone over in Thailand, and he told me that 25 percent of the entering freshman class at DePaul will come from families with incomes of under \$40,000. Now, we have got to do something about it. I want to talk today about what we have done, what we're doing now, and what I think we ought to do.

I agree with what the Congressman said. To me, it is one of the proudest achievements of the last 7 years that we've done so much to open the doors of college to everyone. We have more than doubled student aid in 7 years. We've increased Pell grants by more than 40 percent. We rewrote the student loan program to make it easier and cheaper to get student loans and to pay back those loans as a percentage of your disposable income after you get out of school. By doing this, people don't have to choose between paying their loans and choosing a career that may not be right for them just because it gives

them a big enough income to pay their loans back. The direct loan program that we started in 1993, and the competition that it has fostered, have already saved students over \$8 billion in loan repayment costs. It's made a big difference.

We expanded work-study slots by over 40 percent. We now have a million of them in colleges and universities throughout the country. We created AmeriCorps, which has now given 150,000—actually, more than 150,000 young people the chance to earn money for college while they serve in communities all across America in remarkable ways. We gave American families a chance to save for college in education IRA's, which meant the income wasn't subject to taxation while they were saving it, and then if the money is taken out of the IRA for the purpose of college education, it's never subject to taxation.

And of course, in 1997 we created the \$1,500 HOPE scholarship tax credit, which effectively made 2 years of high school education—post-high-school education free in every community college in the country but was obviously available to people who went to 4-year universities as well.

We supplemented that with a lifetime learning tax credit that applied to the junior and senior years of college, graduate schools, and adult education efforts for people to upgrade their skills, to try to create a seamless thread of lifetime learning in our country. Since 1997, over 5 million families have already benefited from the HOPE scholarship tax credit.

Now, this is the biggest increase in college access and college opportunity since the passage of the GI bill right after World War II. As a result, we now have, for the first time, over two-thirds of our high school graduates enrolling in college. That's a substantial increase from 1993. But even with all the new forms of financial aid and even though the rise in tuition cost has slowed over the last few years, the vast majority of families with people in college still feel stretched. After all, over the past 20 years, the cost of college has quadrupled. Many parents still take second mortgages or second jobs to pay tuition bills.

That's why, to build on the success of the HOPE scholarship and the lifetime learning credits, I have proposed a landmark \$36 billion college opportunity tax cut that will benefit millions of middle class families. It essentially will allow them to deduct up to \$10,000 a year in college tuition costs, at a 28 percent rate, whether they're in the 15 percent income tax bracket or the 28 percent income tax bracket. It can be worth, in other words, up to \$2,800 a year if the students are in school at a place that has tuition of \$10,000 or more.

Today I came here to do two things—to talk to these folks and to announce two other steps to make college more affordable. First, beginning today, the Federal Direct Student Loan Program will reduce interest rates for students who meet their responsibilities and repay their loans on time. This could save more than 2 million students more than—and their parents—\$150 through an interest rebate on new loans and \$500 on refinancing existing loans.

Right now—I'm very proud of this—right now the student loan default rate is 9 percent. When I became President, when the interest rates were high and the system was not user-friendly, the default rate was 22 percent. So it's gone from 22 down to 9. By rewarding responsibility from borrowers who pay back on time, we can bring that default rate down even more.

At the same time, these two proposals I just mentioned will save students and parents more than \$600 million in the next 5 years alone. When you add it up, that will save college students, since 1993, an average of \$1,300 on their college loans and lower interest rates and then premiums for paying on time. You don't have to be a math teacher to know that's pretty good arithmetic. *[Laughter]*

Second, I am pleased to announce a new loan forgiveness program to reward those who teach in our most hard-pressed communities. The students in these communities need the most help from the best teachers. We know that one of the most important things in education, no matter what else we discover, is, has been, and always will be a trained, dedicated, talented teacher.

And through schools like DePaul, we're adding more and more. But we have to add more and more. We have the largest student population in our history, the most diverse student population in our history. We have all these schools that are bursting to the gills, overcrowded, either in old facilities that can't be modernized or in trailers out back. The largest number of trailers I've seen at any one school was a dozen. I was at a grade school in Florida where the school building had a dozen trailers out back.

And we know that 2 million teachers are going to retire over the next 5 or 6 years. This is a very important issue in Chicago, where you have worked so hard to turn your schools around, and the whole country is impressed by the efforts you're making. But it doesn't matter what steps you take. If the young people who are dedicated to teaching aren't there, the rest of the changes won't work.

Now, because of the teacher shortage, we already have too many people going into the classroom who haven't been properly certified to teach the classes that they're supposed to teach. A quarter—listen to this—a quarter of all our secondary school teachers don't have majors or minors in the subjects they teach, mostly in math and science. Students at schools with the highest minority enrollment have less than a 50–50 chance of having a math or science teacher with a license or a degree in the field that the teacher is teaching. Many of those who are qualified end up leaving their classrooms before they can really make a difference because of the financial problems. Listen to this: One-fifth of all of our new teachers leave the classroom within the first 3 years of teaching.

Now, what we want to do is to put better teachers in the schools that need them most and help them stay there. This program would propose to forgive up to \$5,000 in loans for teachers who stay in the classroom for 5 years. They'll be paying it back by teaching our kids. It builds on our billion dollar budget proposal to improve teacher quality, help retrain and recruit teachers, and put 100,000 new teachers in the early grades to lower class size there.

This is an assignment we cannot afford to fail. And I hope that this loan forgiveness

program will encourage more young people to get into teaching and to stay in more than 1 or 2 or 3 years. Taken together, these proposals will help to provide more families with the support they need and help to provide our economy with the work force it needs.

There are lots of other things we need to do in education. There are lots of other things we need to do in terms of tax relief. But I think helping people to go to college is number one. And I've also proposed tax relief that we can afford for long-term care, for elderly and disabled family members, for child care, to help older workers who lose their health insurance on the job to buy into the Medicare program, to help lower income workers with lots of kids to get more tax relief so they don't pay any income tax.

And what I propose would bring a lot of benefit to Americans and still allow us to invest in education and health care and the environment and science and technology and get this country out of debt. I have some real hope that this proposal on college tuition can pass this year, when the Congress comes back. But in a larger sense, the American people will have to decide whether this is the way they want to go on tax cuts or whether they want big, sweeping tax cuts that take up all of our projected surplus.

I think that is a bad idea, because first of all, the money hasn't materialized yet, and most of us can't spend money we don't have, and I don't think we ought to do it as a nation. And secondly, we still need to keep investing in education and other things that will make us strong.

So I wanted to come here and say this. We have got to keep working until there is not a single, solitary soul in America who stays out of higher education or drops out of higher education because of the cost. Anybody who is able to go, willing to work, willing to learn and make the grade ought to be able to go, stay, and succeed afterward without being unduly burdened. These steps we're taking today are a good step in the right direction. And if we can just get this tuition deductibility program passed, we can really say we have actually opened the doors of college to every American family.

Thank you very much.

Now, what I want to do—for most of you, you won't be surprised, those of you who are part of the DePaul community, perhaps by any of the stories that are told. But I think it's important to illustrate what we're trying to do in terms of real people's lives. And so we have four folks come here today, and they're going to talk, and I'm just going to start here and go around.

But I want to start with Pam McNeil, who is a dance instructor at Columbia College, and she has three children, ages 3 through 10. You heard that said before. Her husband is an advertising art director. And when their children enter college, she could be eligible to save, with her family's total income, up to \$1,500 for each freshman and sophomore, through the HOPE scholarship; up to \$2,000 a year for each junior and senior; and if the college opportunity tax cut is enacted, \$2,800 a year for each one in all 4 years if they go to colleges where the tuition is that high, which all will be by the time she gets there. [Laughter]

So tell us about what you're doing to get your kids thinking about your kids' college education, even though they're quite young.

[At this point, the discussion proceeded.]

**The President.** So you're going to benefit from the education IRA, because the money at least you can put aside not subject to taxation and take it out not subject to taxation. But if you could deduct \$2,800 a year from your taxes—keep in mind, this is a tax credit, not a deduction—you get—the effect of it would be a \$2,800 a year reduction in your tax bill for every student in college. It would make a difference in your ability to send your kids.

[The discussion continued.]

**The President.** I want to put in another plug for something else we're trying to do. [Laughter] No one in my family had ever been to college before, and of course, in my generation that was not all that uncommon. But my family started talking to me about it when I was a little kid. There was never—it wasn't a question; it wasn't an option. If I had ever suggested anything to the contrary, I would have been denied dinner or something. [Laughter]

The reason I make that point is there's still millions of kids who grow up in this country who don't get that message from their parents. And that's another thing that I hope will come out of these programs. I want people who think they can't send their kids to college to hear this message today so they'll start telling their kids what you tell yours.

We started a program a couple of years ago that was developed originally in Philadelphia, that Congressman Chaka Fattah from Philadelphia sponsored, but the consortium of universities there were going out and mentoring kids in the schools and trying to convince kids in very low income areas from very difficult family situations that they could all go to college if they learned their lessons.

And what they did was, they had a combination of mentoring the kids and actually showing them what the Pell grant was. A lot of kids think they can't go to college because they don't even know what's on the books now. So the Congress was good enough to pass this program on a nationwide basis. It's called the GEAR UP program. We now have college students all over America going into middle schools, mentoring kids.

They're also educated on what the whole range of student loan options are so they can actually sit down with a 12- or a 13-year-old student and say, "Here's what your family income is. If you go to college, here's what you can get right now. We can tell you right now, you'll be able to get at least this. It will probably be more by the time you get ready, but you've got to make your grades, and we're here to help you." And the message is very, very important.

So I think, in a funny way, what you're telling your kids is just as important as the money you're setting aside for them.

I'd like to now ask John Schoultz, who is the financial aid director here, to talk a little about how things have changed, financial aid and access to college. He's been in this business for 30 years, so he has seen a lot of changes. That's almost as long ago as I started needing financial aid. [Laughter]

So what would you like to tell us about this?

[The discussion continued.]

**The President.** I want to turn to Alicia Buie, who is exhibit A of the announcement I made today on loan forgiveness. This is the sort of person we need more of in America right now. She took a big pay cut and a big loan out to become a teacher in a high-need area with kids who need people like her, who are willing to do things for less money and more social return.

But she's got a husband and two kids; she's got a family; she still has to pay bills. I mean, when the electric bill comes, it doesn't say, "Here's your discount for being a good person." [*Laughter*] So I want her to talk about the decision she made, what she's doing, and keep in mind—and how she would be affected by these proposals.

So will you tell us a little?

[*The discussion continued.*]

**The President.** So under the present system, she would be—any out-of-pocket costs she has on the college would be subject to tax deductions. The loans under the direct loan program are less costly for the reasons I just mentioned. But she'll actually get now to write off almost a third of her loan for being a teacher. And I think it is a tiny investment for the rest of us as a nation to make, to reward and encourage people who make the kind of decision she did.

I hope we can—we started doing things like this—we have a little pilot program, actually, for younger people who just start their bachelor's degree, where they could teach off all their undergraduate loans. But it's not as big as I want it to be. And I want to keep—I hope when I'm gone that this thing will have enough life that other people will keep doing it.

We got the idea to do this because, when I was Governor of Arkansas, we had all these rural places where no doctors would go. And there was a bill passed by the Congress back, I think, in the early seventies, maybe even in the late sixties, where doctors could, in effect, work off their very expensive medical school tuition if they would go to isolated, rural areas or inner cities where there were no doctors.

And now we have the equivalent shortage of teachers, especially in the areas of highest need, especially for the young kids, because

that's where the classes are biggest—what you're doing—and in the area where it's hard to get certified people in science and math.

So I hope one of the things that will happen after I am no longer President is that somebody will come along and say, "Let's let them get rid of all the loans if they serve for 5 years or 6 years or whatever and do other things to try to get"—[*inaudible*].

Now I want to call on Heather Ely. She is a junior here, majoring in computer information systems. Now, there is a guaranteed future. [*Laughter*] She has borrowed a good deal of money from the student loan program and private sources to go to college. I want her to talk about it, and I want to illustrate how she could save some money just under the proposal I announced today.

[*The discussion continued.*]

**The President.** You actually got hurt by the prosperity of the economy in that, because what happened was, when the economy started growing so fast, interest rates went up because there was a lot of competition for money and because the Federal Reserve got worried about inflation. And that's why I've worked so hard to pay the Government's debt down to keep interest rates as low as possible, because it's a good thing to have growth without inflation, but if you have to get it by raising the interest rates, you have all these unintended consequences.

When people raise interest rates, they think, I'm going to do this to try to slow down the economy, so I'll stop people from buying optional things, or I'll defer the business loan for expansion. But they don't think about people on flexible interest rates, home mortgages, college loans, and things like that—or credit cards, even.

Let me just sort of use you as an example. The direct loan program, as I told you before we came in here, will cut the cost of repayment rather dramatically on the part that you get from the Government; then if you pay it off on time, you'll save another several hundred dollars.

One thing, though, I must say that you presented me today that I don't know the answer to is, if you did pay out of pocket right now for any of this money that you have borrowed—for example, if you paid up to \$1,500

a year, or since you're a junior or senior it would be up to \$2,000 a year—you would literally, if you had income tax liability or your family did, you'd get it right off the Government. That is, you could deduct up to \$2,000 in cash.

I don't know whether the subsequent repayment of private loans gets the same tax treatment, but it ought to. Logically, it ought to. So you've actually given me something to go back and look into. *[Laughter]* It will be something positive to occupy myself with, since I'm not a candidate this year. *[Laughter]* I need something good to do in September and October, and I'll do that. *[Laughter]*

But if you think about it, all these cases—you ask yourself, don't we have a national interest that we should address as a nation together, through the tax code and through investments like the Pell grants, in seeing that he doesn't have to say no to any qualified student; that she doesn't have to worry about whether her third child will have the same opportunities her first child did because of the accumulated costs; that if she wants to make a decision to give up probably half or more of her income, that we don't make it harder by the cost of the transition, which is basically what her education was; and that if this young woman is willing to go out, essentially, and finance her own education all by herself, that she ought to be rewarded for it and not punished? I mean, these are just four examples. And all around here, you look at all these students; a lot of them have been nodding their heads through this. There has got to be a story like this inside the life of every student sitting here.

So if you think about what you want America to look like in 10 years and you think about how wonderfully diverse we are, racially, ethnically, religiously, all kinds of ways, and how well suited we are to this global society we're in—here, your president is over in Thailand having a partnership today, right? That's a good thing. Before you know it, some of you will be taking a semester off to go to Thailand to study. It's a good thing. And the rest of you won't have to go, because by the time we get all these Internet connections worked out and simultaneous transmissions with good screens, you'll just flip

them up on the screen, and you'll be there in class anyway, in Thailand, and they'll be here.

Now, as good a shape as America is in today, all the real benefits of the work we've done together as a nation over the last few years are now out there to be reaped. But the absolute precondition is our ability to give all of our kids a globally competitive education from preschool through high school and opening the doors of college to everyone.

No one contests that we have the best system of higher education in the world. My daughter's friends and then the children of my friends, all of them, they go through this college application process, and they're all so nervous. And I tell them all that this is the highest class problem you can have because, believe it or not, there are at least 400 places in America—right, there are at least 400 places in America, maybe more—where you can literally get a world-class undergraduate education. It's an astonishing thing.

But if we don't get all of our kids ready to go, which means we've got to have more people like her, and if we don't open the doors of college to everybody, which means he doesn't have to say no, then we're never going to reach our full potential. On the other hand, if we do, however good you think things are in America today, believe me, it's just the beginning, and the best days are still ahead. But we've got to allow all these folks and everyone like them in America to succeed.

Thank you very much.

NOTE: The roundtable began at 11:35 a.m. in the Stuart Center Cafeteria at DePaul University. In his remarks, the President referred to Kenneth McHugh, executive vice president for operations, Rev. John P. Minogue, president, and John Schoultz, director of financial aid, DePaul University; John Stroger, president, Cook County Board of Commissioners; Tom Hines, committeeman, Chicago's 19th Ward; and Sean O'Shea, Special Assistant to the Cabinet Secretary, White House Department of Cabinet Affairs.



**Remarks in a Discussion at the Ministers' Leadership Conference in South Barrington, Illinois**

*August 10, 2000*

**Rev. Bill Hybels.** It wasn't as bad as I told you it was going to be. *[Laughter]*

**The President.** It's never been as bad as you told me it was going to be. *[Laughter]*

**Reverend Hybels.** You know, there are some cynics out there that think that I'm just going to ask you a bunch of softball questions. They don't know me very well.

**The President.** They obviously never sat in on any of our sessions. *[Laughter]*

**Buddy**

**Reverend Hybels.** So I'm going to start with a tough one: How's Buddy? *[Laughter]*

**The President.** He's doing fine. I'm not doing as well as he is. We took him up to Martha's Vineyard for a little family weekend, and we went swimming in the ocean. And he panicked and jumped on me, and I forgot to give him a manicure first. *[Laughter]* So it's a good thing I've got a suit on. *[Laughter]*

**Ministers' Leadership Conference**

**Reverend Hybels.** All right. These folks all know you and I have been meeting for many years. I'd just like to ask you, how would you characterize for these people what our meetings are like?

**The President.** Well, first of all, they all have certain things in common, then they're different from time to time. They all include you asking me point blank about the state of my spiritual life, and if you think I give you an evasive answer, then you do pointed followup questions. *[Laughter]* And then—and they all end with a prayer. Most of the time we both pray.

Before we came out here, we both prayed. I prayed that you wouldn't give me too tough a time for asking me to come here today. And then we talk about things. We talk about what's going on, what's going on at the office. You ask about the other people that work for me and how they're doing. If there is some particular issue in the news, we talked about that, or particularly if there's a big de-

velopment involving war or peace, we talk about that.

And you've given me the opportunity to ask you questions about what you do. I mean, I was fascinated about how Willow Creek was born and grew and how you got into this business that I think is so important, of trying to build up the strength of local churches throughout the country and throughout the world. And I've learned about how I do my work by talking to you about how you do yours. And I hope that the reverse is true on occasion.

But basically, they've been spiritual conversations, conversations between two friends. There are some things that are always the same, and then they change based on what's going on.

**Reverend Hybels.** Now, recently, you told me that you think more pastors should try to help politicians; they should make themselves available and offer to kind of play the role that I've played.

**The President.** Yes, I really believe that.

**Reverend Hybels.** Why?

**The President.** First of all, because we need it, and not just someone like me, who obviously does. But we do. In 1918 the German sociologist Max Weber wrote an essay. You and I never talked about this before; I just thought about it while you asked me the question. It's called "Politics as a Vocation." And Weber was a Christian Democrat, a devout Catholic. And he said politics is a long and slow boring of hard boards. And anyone who seeks to do it must risk his own soul.

Now, what did he mean by that? What he meant by that was, even in a democracy, where you draw your authority from the people, you have it for a limited amount of time, and it's self-circumscribed by the Constitution. You get the ability to make decisions which affect other people's lives, decisions which are beyond your own wisdom, often made under circumstances which are unimaginably difficult, either because you're under political or personal duress.

And I just think it's—most people who don't know any people in public life who have to make those kind of decisions may think, well, they're just—they don't have a spiritual life, or they're all automatons, or they're not this, that, or the other thing. I can tell you,

most of the people I've known in 30 years of public life, Democrats and Republicans, have been good, honest, honorable people who tried to do what they thought was right, and when they differed, it was because they honestly differed. Ninety percent of the time—plus that's been true. But if you're not careful, when you have this kind of job, it can overtake you. You can believe it's even more important than it is. You can let it take up even more time than it should. And it can crowd out all that other stuff inside you that keeps you centered and growing and whole.

And it's very important that everybody in public life has somebody who's talking to them who either has no interest in either playing up to them and telling them what they want to hear, no interest in getting something from them, and no interest in attacking them—that has anything to do with the fact that the person is in public life. And a pastor can do that in a way that, and you just sort of—you can't imagine how much time that I've spent with you and, over the last couple of years, the time that I've spent also with Gordon McDonald and Tony Campolo and Phil Wogaman—how much it means to me, because it sort of takes me out of all the stuff that's going on and forces me to look at it in a different way and to look at my own life in a different way. And it really kind of keeps me anchored. And you can—all of you can do that for somebody else.

### **1958 Billy Graham Crusade**

**Reverend Hybels.** Something spiritual came into focus for you when you were just a young boy, about 10 years old. Tell us about that.

**The President.** Well, really, it had a lot to do with how I wound up in public life, I think. I became a Christian in 1955, when I was 9, went to Park Place Baptist Church in Hot Springs, Arkansas. The minister's name was James Fitzgerald. He's a great, good man.

**Reverend Hybels.** Now, did you like hear a sermon and then—[inaudible].

**The President.** No, I had been a regular churchgoer ever since I was about 6. But yes, I loved this man. I haven't seen him since. I haven't seen him in 45 years. But I have

a very vivid memory of exactly what he looked like and the way he talked, and he touched my heart. He convinced me that I needed to acknowledge that I was a sinner and that I needed to accept Christ in my heart, and I did. But I was 9 years old, and I was trying to figure out what it all meant.

So then, when I was about 11 years old, maybe 12, the whole State was in an uproar. I guess I was 12; I think it was September of 1958. Billy Graham was coming to Little Rock to do a crusade in War Memorial Stadium, which is where the Arkansas Razorbacks play their football games when they're playing in Little Rock. And Billy Graham's the only person that could get a bigger crowd than the football team. [Laughter]

So the schools in Little Rock had just been closed in the Little Rock integration crisis. Some of you who are older will remember it. Perhaps if you're younger, you read about it. But 1957 was the first big crisis of the school integration movement, and the Governor closed the schools, called out the National Guard to keep nine black children out of the schools and then closed them for a year, and all the kids had to go somewhere else to school.

And the White Citizens Council was basically dominating the politics of the town. So Billy Graham scheduled these crusades years in advance, and he didn't plan all this. All of a sudden, he's supposed to step in the middle of this. And my Sunday school teacher was going to take me and a bunch of kids over to hear him. I never will forget it. And the White Citizens Council and a lot of the business people in Little Rock were worried about some sort of great encounter because the racial tensions were very high, and they asked Billy Graham to agree to give this crusade to a segregated audience.

And he said that if they insisted on that, he would not come, that we were all children of God, and he wanted to lead everyone to Christ. He wouldn't do it. And it really touched me, because my grandparents, who had no education, particularly, and were very modest people, were among the few white people I knew who supported school integration. And all of a sudden, to have Billy Graham validating this based on his Christian witness had a profound impact on me. And

it got me to thinking at that early age about the relationship between your faith and your work, which, of course, has been one of the most hotly debated issues in Christianity for 2,000 years now. What does the Book of James really mean, and all that?

But I really—I can't tell you what it meant. And for a long time right after that I would send a little bit of my allowance money to Billy Graham. You know, I'm still on somebody's list somewhere—[laughter]—for giving next to no money, but it was a pretty good chunk of what I had.

And he came back to Arkansas 30 years later to do another crusade. And I took him by to see my pastor, who was dying at the time and who had been his friend for decades, and we relived that moment, and I've never forgotten it. And I never will. It's just like it happened yesterday to me. Even now, I can hardly talk about it.

#### **President's Church Attendance**

**Reverend Hybels.** Now, you and Hillary have been churchgoers all the time in your public service. And some people think that's just an act. How would you respond?

**The President.** Well, at least, it's a consistent act. [Laughter] Well, I think I have given evidence that I need to be in church. [Laughter] To me, it's—you know, I don't talk about it a lot. I never sought to politicize it. But it was very interesting. I started off, and I went to church with great regularity until I graduated from college—high school. And like a lot of people, when I went to college, my attendance became more sporadic.

And actually, Hillary had been very active in her local Methodist church in Park Ridge, which is not too far from here, when she was growing up. And I remember when I was elected Governor, I had my dedicatory service in the church—this was 1979—in the church in Little Rock, which I'm still a member, Emmanuel Baptist Church. And Hillary said to me, "You know, we should start going to church again on a regular basis. We ought to do it, and you should join the choir. It would do you good to think about something besides politics."

So I talked to the choir director, and because I was Governor, I was out 3 or 4 nights a week, I couldn't go to practice. But I had

been in music all my life, so I was a good sight reader, so he let me sing anyway.

So from 1980 until the year I became President, I got to sing in my church choir every Sunday, and it meant a lot to me. And then after we came here, we both, because we wanted to go together and with our daughter, we both started going to the Methodist church outside here in Washington, Foundry Methodist Church, that Dr. Wogaman is the pastor of, and you know him, of course. And we've gone pretty regularly for 7½ years now.

So I've been doing this a long time. I don't do it for anybody else; I do it for me. It helps me to go. It helps me—the same way it helps me to spend an hour talking to you. I'm sitting there in church, just like everybody else, except needing it maybe more, and it's one of the best hours of the week for me. I just let everything else go, take my Bible, read, listen, sing. I don't know, why does anybody go? It means something to me. It's a way of not only validating my faith but deepening it and basically replenishing it.

One of the things I like about my observant Jewish friends—and you've seen a lot about this in the last few days with all the publicity over Senator Lieberman becoming the Vice Presidential nominee—is that they take a whole day, and I mean they really take the day. They don't go to service for an hour. I mean for a day they shut down and shut the whole world out and think about what's most important in life. Anyway, in a very small way, that's what my church attendance does for me.

#### **President's Spiritual Life**

**Reverend Hybels.** Okay. So if we were having our regular meeting, this would be the time when I would ask the consistent question: What's the current condition of your spiritual life? Describe right now where you're at spiritually.

**The President.** Well, I feel much more at peace than I used to. And I think that as awful as what I went through was, humiliating as it was, more to others than to me, even, sometimes when you think you've got something behind you and then

it's not behind you, this sort of purging process, if it doesn't destroy you, can bring you to a different place.

I'm now in the second year of a process of trying to totally rebuild my life from a terrible mistake I made. And I now see—I don't think anybody can say, "Hey, the state of my spiritual life is great. It's constant, and it's never going to change." I think I've learned enough now to know that's not true, that it's always a work in progress, and you just have to hope you're getting better every day. But if you're not getting better, chances are you're getting worse. That this has to be a dynamic, ongoing effort.

But you know, I had to come to terms with a lot of things about the fundamental importance of character and integrity. Integrity, to me, means—is a literal term. It means the integration of one's spirit, mind, and body being in the same place at the same time with everything, doing what you believe is right and you believe is consistent with the will of God.

It's been an amazing encounter, you know, trying to rebuild my family life, which is the most important thing of all—and it took a lot of effort that I've never talked about and probably never will, because I don't really think it's anybody else's concern—and then to rebuild the support of the people I work with to try to be worthy of the fact that two-thirds of the American people stuck with me. That's an incredible thing.

So I wake up every day, no matter what anybody says or what goes wrong or whatever, with this overwhelming sense of gratitude. Because it may be that if I hadn't been knocked down in the way I was and forced to come to grips with what I'd done and the consequences of it, in such an awful way, I might not ever have had to really deal with it a hundred percent.

This kind of thing happens to—not, maybe, this kind of thing—but all kinds of problems come up in people's lives all the time, and usually they're not played out with several billion dollars of publicity on the neon lights before people. But they still have to be dealt with. And in a funny way, when you realize there is nothing left to hide, then it sort of frees you up to do what you ought to be doing anyway. I don't know if that

makes any sense, but to me, I feel this overwhelming sense of gratitude.

I also learned a lot about forgiveness. I've always thought I was sort of a forgiving, generous person, you know, nonjudgmental in a negative sense, not that I don't have opinions. But I realized once you've actually had to stand up and ask for forgiveness before the whole wide world, it makes it a little harder to be as hard as I think I once was on other people, and that's meant something to me, too. I think I've learned something about that.

**Reverend Hybels.** A lot of people, when they learned that I was going to interview you and a lot of people who know that we've been meeting, have said to me, "The guy never really apologized. The guy never really owned it and came clean about his mistakes, tried to hide it, said it didn't happen. He never came clean." Now, that's a little surprising to me, because we sent a staff member, one of our senior staff members, to the White House the day in September of '98 when you gave one of the most clear confessional statements that I have ever heard.

I'm not going to ask for a hand raise or anything, but there's a whole bunch of people here who think you never really said it.

**The President.** No, I don't know why. I just—you know, to me—I had to come—there was a lot of things going on at the time, as you remember, that were unrelated, I think, to the fact that I did something wrong that I needed to acknowledge, apologize for, and then begin a process of atonement for. And there were a few days when I basically was thinking more about what my adversaries were trying to do than what I should be trying to do.

And finally, this breakfast we had—we're about to have it, actually. We're coming up on the second anniversary of the prayer breakfast I have every year for people of all different faiths in the White House that we sort of do at the start of school, because it's kind of a rededication period. And I've done it for 8 years, over and above the President's prayer breakfast, which is a—there's a whole committee that does that. Hillary and I just invite people to the White House, and we have breakfast, and we talk about whatever

we're talking about that year. We pray together, and people get up and say whatever they want to say.

But I think I gave a clear, unambiguous, brutally frank, and frankly personally painful statement to me because I had to do it. I mean, I finally realized that I was—it would never be all right unless I stood up there and said what I did and said it was wrong and apologized for it.

But I think what happened was, I think anybody who was there thought so; I think anybody who read it thought so. I don't know what was covered by television, really, because I don't watch the TV news much, or what was written in the newspaper or who heard it. But I think that anyone who saw that and who observed what happened afterward would not doubt that there had been a full and adequate apology.

**Reverend Hybels.** You sent me the text of it right then, and I read it, and it was—I mean, I'm an elder at this church, as well as the pastor, and we've had many times where people have had to make confessions, and this was as clean. You said, "Not only am I"—you said, "There's no fancy way—there's not a fancy way to say it, I have sinned." And you went on and quoted from Psalm 51 and talked about the need for a broken and contrite heart, and you confessed that.

And you went on to say that it's not enough just to say I'm sorry, there has to be the fruits of repentance and the gathering together of people who would hold you accountable for walking a new way. You announced that day publicly you were putting an accountability group together that would meet with you and help you stay on a new path. And you ended the speech by saying, "Let the words in my mouth, the meditation in my heart, and the work of my hands be pleasing to my God."

It was about as clean as I have ever read something like that. And it must have been terribly frustrating for you to live on in the future with the sense that there's a whole bunch of people who just continue to believe you never came clean.

**The President.** Oh, it was for a little bit. But I think one of the things you learn is that even a President—all you can do is be responsible for what you do, and what other

people say about it or whether it gets out there—you have to work hard to get it out there, but—I suppose there was a time when I was upset about it. But then I realized that that was another form of defensiveness, that if I really thought about that, that was just another excuse not to be doing what I should be doing, which is to work on my life, work on my marriage, work on my parenthood, work on my work with the White House and the administration, and work on serving the American people.

So believe it or not, I haven't thought about it in a long, long time now. I thought about it a little bit now because you asked me to do this, and I said, yes, and here we are in the soup together. But I don't think about it now, because I realize that anytime you're supposed to be doing something with your life and you get off thinking about what somebody else is saying or doing about it or to you or whatever, it's just a crutch for not dealing with what you're supposed to be dealing with. So I finally just let it go, and I hope people can see that it's different. You just have to hope that and go on.

### Leadership

**Reverend Hybels.** Let's switch subject matters and go over to leadership. I mean, you know a lot about leadership. And you've been the leader of the most powerful country in the world for almost 8 years now. So okay, leadership questions, are we all right on that, or is there anything more you wanted to say on other stuff?

**The President.** I thought you'd never change the subject. [Laughter]

**Reverend Hybels.** All right, then. When did you first recognize that you were a leader? It's not a trick question. I'm just asking it. [Laughter]

**The President.** I know. I'm just trying to remember. When I was young—I don't know, in grade school—I used to often be the person who sort of organized the games and got people to do things and all that kind of stuff. But I don't know that I ever thought about it in leadership terms. And I began to get interested in all this when I got interested in politics as a kid.

We got a television when I was 9, I think, or 10. We didn't have a television until I was

about 10. I watched the 1956 Republican and Democratic conventions. I was just fascinated by it. And then by 1960, I began to think, "Well, maybe I could actually do this some day, because I'm real interested in people; I care a lot about these issues."

But I think the first things I actually did were when I was in high school and I was the president of my class and the head of the band and I used to organize the State Band Festival with the band director. And one time I remember a young man came to school, he came to our school. He hadn't been there very long, and he was in the band. And he had a fight with a teacher, and he said a very intemperate thing. At least, back then, you couldn't do that kind of thing, and she suspended him.

So he was going to miss this big band trip we were taking over the weekend. And this kid had come to our town; he had no friends; he was all alone. Anyway, I decided that he ought to go. And the teacher, by blind coincidence, was a woman I very much admired. Her husband had been a plumber, and she was a housewife and a genius. And they both went back to school in their mid-thirties. And they lived across the street from me, just by coincidence.

So I went to her house, and I told her why she ought to reinstate this kid. And I said, I want to bring him to you and let him apologize. But, I said, "I don't know what's going on in his life, but he's a decent kid. And he's absolutely in the wrong, and you're absolutely right to suspend him. But you ought not to do it anyway, because he just got here, and this will be good for him if he takes this trip; he'll make friends and everything."

So she agreed to let me bring this kid to see her. And he apologized and cried, and she cried, and they became—it was great. He went on the trip. I never saw him again after I graduated from high school until I ran for President in 1992. But that made me want to be a leader. I don't know if that meant I could be. I was about—I don't know—I was 15 or 16 years old. But it made me understand that you could do things that would make a difference in other people's lives if you just thought about it in the right way.

**Reverend Hybels.** All right. So you started realizing you had leadership skills or talents in you. But then at some point you said, "I'm going to direct this leadership toward the political arena." I mean, you could have been a leader in business; you could have been a leader in academia; you could have been a leader in ministry, probably. [*Laughter*]

**The President.** You will find this funny, in light of all that's happened. When I was about 11, I gave my grandmother a big speech about civil rights. I was just going on and on, waving my arms and everything. My grandmother looked at me, and she said, "You know, Billy, I think you could be a preacher if you were just a little better boy." [*Laughter*] True story.

**Reverend Hybels.** But anyway, you decided to choose—I'm not going to follow up on that one. I'm letting that one go.

**The President.** Thank you.

**Reverend Hybels.** I mean, that was a free shot for me, and I took a pass. [*Laughter*] So please acknowledge.

**The President.** I owe you one.

Well, like I said, I was about 16, I guess, that I really decided that if I could do this kind of work, I would like to do it, this political work.

And the only other thing I had—I had thought about being a doctor, and I was very interested in it. But I knew I wouldn't be great at it. I thought about being a musician, and I was really quite good when I was in high school. And I knew I would be very good. But I didn't think I could be the best. Especially then, you know, 40 years ago, if you were a saxophone player, there weren't any saxophone players like there are up here on this church stage. And there was certainly nobody like Kenny G making a living just making records.

I mean, if you wanted to make a living doing that, you had to get your days and nights mixed up. You had to go to some club, stay up all night playing jazz; you'd sleep all day. How was I going to have a family? How was I going to have a life? And it certainly wouldn't be worth it unless you literally were the greatest person doing it.

And I knew I was real good but not great. I thought to myself, I can do this really well,

what I'm doing now, and I love it. And it's like the only thing I could ever think of where every day you're getting up and peeling another slice off the onion of human existence. There's like an endless layer of exposure to different people and different problems and different dreams.

So I decided when I was about 16 that if I could do it, I would. And I would do it because I could do it better than I could do anything else. And I must say it was a great advantage to me in life. It's like there are all these great stories coming out now on Tiger Woods and how he's done things younger than anybody else has ever done and how he used to keep Jack Niklaus' golf records taped on his bedstead, you know. He decided younger than I did what he was going to do. It's a huge advantage.

You pay a little price for it, too. None of these decisions are free in life, but I think it is a big advantage. And I've always been grateful that I just knew when I was young.

**Reverend Hybels.** There's always that picture of you shaking hands with John Kennedy. Was that as momentous in your mind at the time as people have made it out to be since?

**The President.** Yes, but not in the way they make it out to be. I mean, that is I think if I had never gone in and shaken his hand, I still would have tried to go into politics because it's what I wanted to do. But I admired him, and I supported him when I was 14. He was running for President—we used to have these great debates in my ninth-grade class. And my very best friend as a child, who is still one of my closest friends—we stay in touch all the time and he sends me an E-mail once a week. He's in the computer business in Arkansas and comes to see me and tells me when he thinks I'm all wet. But he was there. He came from a Republican family, and I came from a Republican county. So he was for President Nixon, and I was for President Kennedy. And we'd have our little debates in the ninth grade.

And for me, it was basically about civil rights, which I felt very strongly about. So when I got to go to Boys Nation, the American Legion did a great thing for me. It was a huge deal for me—I was a 16-year-old kid from Arkansas—to get on an airplane, go to

Washington, go to the White House, stand in the Rose Garden. And we all were standing there in alphabetical order by State, so Arkansas was near the front. And President Kennedy gave this little speech and complimented us on what we'd done in civil rights legislation, because it was a mock Senate program, this Boys Nation program. He said we were doing better than the real Senate, which is probably still true. *[Laughter]*

And anyway—Trent Lott will make me pay for that. *[Laughter]* Anyway, so then he comes down, and he starts shaking hands. I was the biggest kid from any of the States that started with A, so I just sort of muscled my way up there and got to shake hands. But he was kind enough to stand there for many minutes and shake hands with all the kids.

And I think in every year but one—this year, because I had an emergency, or a very important thing I had to do, and we had to slot the Boys Nation and Girls Nation people in—every year except this one, I've actually stood there and shaken hands with and had a picture taken with every one of those kids, because you just never know when something you do to some child from a small hamlet in North Dakota or an inner-city neighborhood in L.A., or anywhere else—just by taking a little bit of time, that the child might imagine that he or she could do something that otherwise they hadn't imagined.

So what Kennedy, meeting him, I think, did for me is it gave me—first of all, I was just touched that the President was seeing us and paying a little attention to us, but it gave me the ability to imagine that I might have this life that I knew I wanted.

**Reverend Hybels.** All right. Characterize your leadership style. Would you say like you're a visionary leader, a strategic leader, team-building leader?

**The President.** Well, you probably ought to ask the people who came with me today. They would probably say, an exhausting one. *[Laughter]* Let me try—first of all, I think the vision is the most important thing. I mean, to me, what you have to have, if you want to really lead in any endeavor you've got to say, "Okay, what is my objective? What are the facts here? What are the facts on the ground? Here's my vision." Then you need

a strategy for how you're going to achieve your vision. Then you have to have all these tactics that explain it. Then you have to put together a team that can do what you can't do.

And so what I have tried to do is to focus on the vision thing, as some politicians say. I mean, it's not for nothing that the Scripture says, "where there is no vision, the people perish." I mean it is the most important thing. Otherwise you get—remember that great old Yogi Berra line, "I may not know where I'm going, but I'm making good time." I mean, that happens to everybody in life, and part of it is when you lose your vision.

But I also—I think that team-building is very important because a lot of the things that I get credit for, the good things that have happened have been done by somebody else that I empowered to act, consistent with an agreed upon plan that we started with. I mean, one of the things that frustrates me—it's no different from everybody else that's had this position, but Vice President Gore doesn't get near enough credit for a lot of the things that I've done that he was the main executor on.

I've been very fortunate. I've had one Secretary of Education, Dick Riley, the former Governor of South Carolina, and there's been a dramatic amount of improvement in the schools that we've been an integral part of because of him. I've had one Secretary of Health and Human Services; one Secretary of the Interior, Bruce Babbitt, who has probably made the greatest impact on the interior in a positive way since the days of Harold Ickes in Roosevelt's administration or Gifford Pinchot before that in Teddy Roosevelt's administration.

So the team is very important. If you don't have the people around you that are good, you can have the vision, and you can have the strategy, but if you're doing anything that requires more than one person to do it, if you're doing something besides writing a book, you've got to have somebody else to help you.

**Reverend Hybels.** When I first started seeing you, you had quite a few Arkansas folks in the early days or friends that you brought with you in the early days into the office. And then my perception—and I don't

think we've ever talked about this, actually—my perception is some of them found out that the job was over their heads, and eventually you had to ask some people who started with you to do something else.

**The President.** The truth is, though, most of the people that came with me from home have done very well. The most popular member of the Cabinet, I think, is James Lee Witt, the head of the Federal Emergency Management Agency. And he was the county judge in this little rural county in Arkansas where my step-father was born. He was my head of the Emergency Management Agency, and the reason he's popular is we've had a lot of disasters since I've been President—natural disasters, I mean. [Laughter] We've had a lot of natural disasters, and he's the first guy that ever had that job that got it not as a political appointment. He really knows it.

The person who does all my appointments, Bob Nash, is from Arkansas. It's one of the most difficult and sensitive jobs in the Government. Nancy Hernreich, whom you know and work with, she's obviously from Arkansas. So I've had a huge number of people I brought up with.

The only two that I can think of just off the top of my head—some of the others have come and gone, but they came and went for the same reasons others come and go. The only two I can think of that really changed their jobs or that left their jobs under less than optimum circumstances, one of them, principally, was Vince Foster who, as you know, in a heartbreaking incident actually killed himself, apparently partly because of criticism he was receiving in the press that he thought was unfair and unjust and untrue.

And I must tell you, that had a big impact on me and my wife. I had gone to kindergarten with him. Everybody thought at home that he was maybe not only the best but the most ethical lawyer they ever knew. And he had this self-image of himself that was completely assaulted from day one in Washington, and he took it seriously. I'll never forget talking to him a day or so before he died. And I said, "You know, how can you take this seriously? These people, they don't know anything about you." And I said, "Everybody



that reads this editorial page is against us anyway. None of these people are going to vote for us." And for me, I was so used to being beat on, I was insensitive to the fact that a man that I had lived next door to when I was 4 years old was dying inside, literally.

And it's something that I think pastors—maybe this has happened to you before, and if it hasn't, I hope it never will, but it's something you've got to be sensitive to. I thought he was receiving all this incoming fire in the way that I was receiving it. And instead, he was receiving it the way Woodrow Wilson talked about when he was President. He said that words could wound more than bullets and that it took an extraordinary courage to bear up under it.

I'd been in public life and debates so long, I was so used to people saying things for whatever reason; I missed it. So I tried to joke him out of this, instead of being sensitive to it. He performed very well, but he didn't understand the Washington culture.

When Mack McLarty, who went to kindergarten with me and was a big time automotive executive, became my Chief of Staff, he didn't want to do it. He said, "You need somebody with Washington experience." But we had put most of those people that we had into the Cabinet. And so, I knew he was a good manager. It's interesting. So after a couple of years he moved on and became my Special Envoy to the Americas, where he helped to, basically, dramatically improve and broaden our relationship with all the countries south of our border and where he still does work for me, even though he's returned. He and Henry Kissinger have gone into business together. So McLarty has done very, very well. But he didn't want to be Chief of Staff. It's just that, at the time they were fixing to swear me in, and I had to have somebody. And I had to have somebody that actually knew how to run things.

And you might be interested to know that Bob Rubin—whom everybody considers sort of a consummate insider, you know, was my Secretary of the Treasury and, before that, head of the first National Economic Council and clearly one of the two or three most important architects of our economic revival—says that McLarty did more than anybody

else to establish the spirit of teamwork that we've had.

In 1995, after we lost the Congress, I had a couple of Presidential scholars from Harvard come in. And one of these men—I didn't even know him—he said, "Don't worry. You're going to be reelected." No one thought I was going to be reelected in 1995. I said, "Why do you say that?" He said, "You have the most loyal Cabinet since Thomas Jefferson's second administration." He said, "I never saw anything like it." He said, "There's no backbiting. They work with the White House. You all work together." He said, "I don't know how you all did it, but you're all devoted to each other." And he said, "Believe me, in the end, in ways that no one can quantify, it will work out." So I think the guy's a genius now, even though I never knew him before. *[Laughter]*

## Polls

**Reverend Hybels.** Sometimes it appears as though you live by simply taking the pulse or looking at polling numbers. Other times you seem to step out and lead by conviction, deep conviction. Is that a fair characterization of your leadership?

**The President.** No. And I'll explain why. First of all, the role of polls is widely misunderstood, so let me tell you a little about at least how I see polls. Let's begin with a poll in a campaign. Who is ahead? Vice President Gore or Governor Bush, right? The Gallup poll says one day Bush is 19 points ahead. Vice President Gore names Joe Lieberman. The next day he's 2 points ahead. Believe me, 17 percent of the people did not really change their mind in one day.

That doesn't mean that Mr. Gallup's organization didn't tell the truth; that is, that they called what they thought was a representative group of people one day, and they called another representative group the other day. But the first thing you need to remember about every poll is, if it's an election, it's a picture of a horse race that's not over. And if you've ever watched a horse race and you see the replays, they always show how it was at the first turn, how it was in the back stretch, how it was at the final turn. Every picture is a poll. That's what—you should keep that in your mind.

So when you see the polls unfold in this Presidential race, you should remember that. And therefore, it's like a horse race. How big is their lead is one issue? Second is, what is it based on? Like if one horse is stronger than another, even he may just be a half—may be a head or even a nose ahead, but if he's a stronger horse, he's going to win anyway. But otherwise, there could be—if the horse has got a lot of juice running third, the horse running third may win.

Now, on the issues, which is what Bill's asking me about, there's something else you need to remember about polls. First of all, they may be totally misleading. I'll explain that. Second, they may change. I'll tell you what I normally use polls for as President. If you go back and look at what I did—in 1992, I issued a booklet called "Putting People First" and said "If you vote for me, this is what I'm going to do." In 1995, Thomas Patterson, the Presidential scholar, said that I had already kept a higher percentage of my commitments than the previous five Presidents, even though I'd made more commitments.

So what do I use polls for on the issues? What I primarily use polls for is to tell me how to make the argument that's most likely to persuade you that I'm right about what I'm trying to do.

**Reverend Hybels.** Give us an example.

**The President.** Okay. I'll give you an example where, according to the polls I have the unpopular position, okay? The Congress passes a repeal of the estate tax, an outright repeal. Now, I can—and I'm going to veto it if it comes to my desk, okay? Now, I can say the following. I can say, "I'm going to veto this because it only helps less than 2 percent of the people and half of the relief goes to one-tenth of one percent of the people, and it's an average \$10 million." That is a populist explanation.

I can say, "I'm going to veto it because we only have so much money for tax cuts, and I think it's wrong to do this and say this is our highest priority, when we have done nothing to lower the income taxes of low-income working people with three kids or more or to help people pay for child care or long-term care for their elderly or disabled

relatives or to get a tax deduction for college tuition."

Or I could say, "I think there should be estate tax relief." I do, by the way. "I don't care if it does help primarily upper income people. The way so many people have made so much money in the stock markets in the last 8 years, there are a lot of family-owned businesses that people would like to pass down to their family members, that would be burdened by the way the estate tax works, plus which the maximum rate is too high. When it was set, income tax rates were higher, but there was a lot of ways to get out of it. Now the rates are lower, but you have less ways to get out of it. You have to pretty much pay what you owe more." So I could say that.

So it's not fair to totally repeal it. Like even Bill Gates has said, "Why are you going to give me a \$40 billion tax break." And he's going to give away his money, and I applaud him and honor him for it.

So I could make either of those three arguments. It's helpful to me to know what you're thinking. I know what I think is right. I'm not going to change what I think is right. But in order to continue to be effective, you have to believe I'm right. So that's kind of what I use polls for.

Also, if you know that you've only got time—let's say Congress is going to be in session 3 more months, and you know you can get two things done, and there's five things you want to do. And you like them all five more or less the same, but you just know you can't get it all done, the system won't absorb that much change at once.

It may help you to do a survey to see—for example, the Patients' Bill of Rights that I've been trying to pass for 2 years. One of the reasons that I have felt good about trying to push it—and we keep making progress and the House of Representatives passed it—is that 70 percent of Republicans, Democrats, and independents outside Washington support it. It's helpful to know that, because then you're not asking if—in other words, the Congress is a majority Republican. So if I give them a bill that's got 60 percent of the

Democrats for it and 60 percent of the independents for it, when 60 percent of the Republicans are against it, I'm really asking them to make a sacrifice.

But if give them a bill that Democrats, Republicans, and independents are all for, even though there may be some organized groups against it, I'm not asking them to hurt themselves to do something that I think is good for America. That's how I use polls.

Now, let me just say one other thing. Polls can be misleading.

**Reverend Hybels.** He loves this stuff. I mean, just listen to this. [*Laughter*]

**The President.** No, no, but you need to understand it. Polls can be misleading. For example, the polls show that people normally support the positions I took on the Brady bill, banning assault weapons, closing the gun show loophole. Does that mean it's a good thing to do politically? Absolutely not; not necessarily.

One of the reasons the Republicans won the House in 1994 is that I got Democrats to vote for the Brady bill and the assault weapons ban. Why? Let's say people—I'll exaggerate—let's say people are 80 percent for my position and 20 percent for the NRA position. Okay? But if the 80 percent who are for my position are interested in a dozen issues, and it's only a voting issue for 5 percent, and of the 20 percent of the NRA members who are against my position if it's a voting issue for 10 percent, for 15 percent, it means you lose 10 percent of the vote. See what I mean?

So the polls can be totally misleading. Therefore, even though it looked like the public was for us, when we took on guns, when we took on tobacco interests, when we took on a lot of these other things, it was very risky.

And the final thing I want to tell you is, sometimes you have to do things that are unpopular because you know they're right and you're absolutely convinced time will tell. The most unpopular decision I made as President, at the moment I made it, was to give financial aid to Mexico when they were going broke. Remember that a few years ago? On the day I made that decision the polls said that by 81 to 15—81 to 15, you couldn't get those numbers for the proposition that

the Sun will come up tomorrow—[*laughter*—by 81 to 15, the public thought that I should not do that.

It took me 5 minutes to make the decision to do it. It was not a hard decision. We did it right away. Why? Because I knew that no matter what you thought about whether I was doing something wrong, I couldn't allow Mexico to go bankrupt if I could stop it because it was an important trading partner for us; because if they went down, then Argentina and Brazil might go down; countries half way around the world might down; we would be flooded with more illegal immigrants; we'd have more trouble on our border than we could say grace over; and that even if everybody got mad at me and wanted to vote against me, I owed it to you to do what I had more evidence and knowledge of than most voters and go ahead and do what I thought was right. So I did.

You should use polls and you should follow them, but neither those who follow nor those who use should take them too seriously or fail to understand their limits.

### **Race Relations**

**Reverend Hybels.** If I asked you what are two or three issue-oriented convictions that you are going to stand for from here to the grave, you just go, "This one goes down into my soul"?

**The President.** The first is the whole question of race. You know, I'm a southerner, I grew up in the segregated South. The most important thing to me is that we learn to live together.

Let me say, for one thing, I'm quite sure that some of my positions are wrong. I'm quite sure some of your positions are wrong. That is, if you know enough and have enough opinions, some of them are going to be wrong.

In a way, one of my very favorite Bible verses is the 12th chapter of the—12th verse of the 12th chapter of First Corinthians: "Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face. Now we know in part, but then we shall know even as we are also known. Now abideth faith, hope, and love, and the greatest of these is love"—or charity or charitable love or whatever. Why? Because we see through a glass darkly.

But I'm quite sure that what I am right about is our common humanity and that our common humanity is more important than the things that divide us. The human genome project has discovered that we are genetically more than 99.9 percent the same. Furthermore, it has discovered that if you take—let's say we took four groups. Let's say we take a hundred Chinese, a hundred Indians from South Asia—not Native American—a hundred Indians, a hundred Norwegians, and a hundred West Africans. That the genetic differences between the groups would be less than the genetic differences among the individuals within each racial group—stunning.

Basically, science is confirming what our faith has taught us. And so, to me, if I could have one wish for America it would not be that the economic recovery would go on another decade, it would not be even that the crime rate would be lowered or that we would all—that all of our children would have a chance at a good life. It would be that we would find a way to live together as one America, because we'll figure out how to solve all the problems if we'll stop getting in each other's way. So that's what I believe.

**Reverend Hybels.** It's funny, when you start going in on this genetic thing—I went to Washington. I think it was a day after you had done all that reading. I walked in the door. You could not wait—[laughter]—to tell me the findings of these genetic differences and similarities. And I was thinking, I flew all the way there, sat and listened for an hour and 15 minutes, flew all the way back, and never said a word. [Laughter]

**The President.** But somebody has got to do that to him, right? [Laughter]

**Reverend Hybels.** I think you're two down now.

**The President.** Boy, I'll pay for that, I'll tell you. I'll pay for that.

### **Influences on the President**

**Reverend Hybels.** Yes, you're two down now. [Laughter] Okay. Dividing your life into thirds, like zero to 20, 20 to 40, 40 until now, which leaders had the most important influence on you in each of those thirds?

**The President.** Well, when I was very young, my mother was a role model to me

and for lots of reasons. She was a good mother, a good provider; she got up early, worked late, put us first—my band director, my high school principal, President Kennedy, a couple of my college professors. Between 20 and 40, I think I admired Martin Luther King, Robert Kennedy, a lot of people in public life. Between 40 and 60, especially after I got to be President, I spent more time studying Abraham Lincoln and Franklin and Theodore Roosevelt. And I've been very influenced by Nelson Mandela, who is a good friend of mine and my family; and Yitzak Rabin, the late Prime Minister of Israel, whom I loved very much and was very close to and, as you know, lost his life because he was working for peace in the Middle East, the same thing we're still struggling with.

And I kind of drew something from each of them. But I would say those are the people that have really influenced me.

### **Presidential Decisions**

**Reverend Hybels.** Okay. What are the toughest one or two decisions you've had to make during your Presidency? When did you just go, "Oh, my goodness gracious, there is no good way this is going to come out, but I've got to make the call."

**The President.** Well, any time you put Americans into battle, you do, because you know the chances are some of them will die. And even if they don't, they're going to kill somebody else. And you can't use all those big fancy weapons—I don't care how good the computers are, how accurate the weapons are—without some people getting killed that you didn't want to kill.

So the decision to go—the conflict in Kosovo—when I first got elected I had to take a military action against Saddam Hussein because he had authorized an assassination plot on President Bush. I don't know if you all remember that, back in 1993, after President Bush had left office, and he went to the Middle East, and they authorized an assassination squad. Thank goodness it failed. But I couldn't just walk away from that and pretend it didn't happen and pretend the people who were responsible for that thought they could kill an American President who had done something that we all—most of us supported in the Gulf war.

But every time you do that, every time you unleash a missile or send a pilot, and you know that it's life and death, you just have to pray you're right. We did it in actions—there were other times when we took actions over Iraq. There were other times we—more limited actions in Bosnia, because thank goodness, we brought them to the peace table. But I think those are the hardest things.

There were a lot of other things. It was very hard to put together the economic plan in 1993, because I knew the country was deep in trouble. We had quadrupled the debt in 12 years; the deficit was high; the interest rates were high; the economy was weak. And I knew it was going to take a real cold shower to turn it around. And it would take a combination of tax increases, which I wanted to have mostly on upper income people, and spending cuts, which would mostly affect middle and lower income people. But we had to do them both to try to get rid of this deficit. And I knew if we didn't do it, we'd never get there. But I also knew that I was asking a lot of Members of Congress to walk the line and to risk being defeated.

And when the Republicans announced that they would give no votes to it and it was going to be the first major piece of legislation in 50 years to pass with the votes of only one party, you know, I knew what I was asking them to do. But I also knew—I believed very strongly it would work, and I thought if we didn't do something about the deficit and the accumulating debt that we would never turn the country around. And so I did it. But it was very hard for me, because I knew that the Congress would pay the price, because there was no way the economy could be that much better by '94 in the elections, and that if I was right and it worked, that I would be reelected in '96, and they would have, in effect, sacrificed for a decision that I made and got them to support.

And it's turned out that's how it was. That was one of my lower days as President, when that happened.

**Reverend Hybels.** Now, let's say that it's the night before you have to send troops into battle. Who do you have in the room with

you? What process is going on? How do you make that final call to say, "Go"?

**The President.** Well, you have the national security team, the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of State, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Director of Central Intelligence, and a number of other people would be there. And we would probably be meeting in the secure room in the White House that we have for such purposes.

And we would go over all the facts, all the options, what options we had other than going into combat, what our objectives were, what the likelihood of achieving our objectives are, and what could go wrong. And if the worst happens and something goes wrong, what are we going to do then? We try to game it all out and think about it in advance.

Then I go around the room, and whenever I have a big decision, I make everybody tell me what they think. And one of the things that I have tried to cultivate is to tell people I do not want them to tell me what they think I want to hear. And I must say, they have certainly taken that to heart. [*Laughter*]

But one of the problems that Presidents—one of the things that causes Presidents problems is they tend to pick people to be around them who are too much like them. This is not a negative thing. It's a hard job. You're under a lot of pressure. You like to be around people you feel comfortable with, who have the same interests you do, have the same strengths you do. But the truth is, you need to have people around you who see the world differently, who have different experiences, and who have different strengths and skills. So I tried to do that, too. And we just go around, and they all tell me what they think. And then when we have to make a decision, I make a decision.

**Reverend Hybels.** And would you try to gain consensus, or at a certain point, if you realize there is not consensus, you just say, "Well, men and women, we're going to do this"?

**The President.** I always try to get them to get a consensus because I know they're smart enough and their takes on things are different enough—the same thing is true in the domestic field. I do the same thing with economic policy.

But if they can get a consensus, more than likely, they're right, because they're not all rubber stamp type people, and they're in there really working it through. And they can present the arguments to me.

But if they can't make a consensus and we run out of time, I just make a decision. I make the best decision I can.

### **President's Best Moments**

**Reverend Hybels.** All right. You're going to be leaving office in a few months, and you look back and you say—what were one or two of just the highest moments, just the greatest feelings, when you said, “It doesn't get better than this”?

**The President.** Well, I'll give you a couple. When we won the economic fight in August of '93, I knew it was going to turn the country around. I just knew it. Because the productive capacity of the American people and the fact that we were ahead in this information technology age anyway was beginning to assert itself. And I knew if we could just get the deficit down, get interest rates down, get out of the way of the economy, and then do some things that would speed it up, it would be great. That was a great day.

In September of '93, when Arafat and Rabin met on the White House lawn and I got them to shake hands for the first time in front of a billion people on television, it was an unbelievable day.

When I signed the AmeriCorps bill to give now 150,000 young people a chance to serve at their communities for a year or two and then earn money for college, and I did it with the pens that President Kennedy used to sign the Peace Corps and President Franklin Roosevelt used to sign the Civilian Conservation Corps, that was a great day. It was one of my dreams to do.

In December of '95 I went to Ireland. And our administration was the first American administration ever to become deeply involved in the Irish peace process. And we had just about got a final peace in Northern Ireland. And my people are Irish; they were Irish Protestants from Fermanagh, right on the line between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. And to see 50,000 people in the streets in Belfast, to walk down the Shankel and the Falls, the Catholic and the

Protestant neighborhoods, and see them there together, all these young people cheering for peace; see over 100,000 people in Dublin waving American flags and Irish flags, all because they thought America stood for peace.

The first time I went to Sarajevo after the war in Bosnia ended and all these people came up to me on the street and thanked me because America gave them their lives back. You know, that means—you forget the enormous capacity of our country to represent the best hope of humankind. And you realize, when you're President, you're just sort of the temporary steward of something that's so much bigger than you are. But if you use the power in the right way, how it can move the world, not because of you but because of America, because of 226 years of history, because of the values of the country, because of the way it works, I mean, it's unbelievable.

So those were some of the things. There were many more: standing in Nelson Mandela's prison cell with him was a pretty amazing thing. Listening to him tell me the story of how he let go of his hatred and resentment so he could be free to be a human being after being unjustly imprisoned for 27 years. You get a chance to have some pretty good moments in this job. [Laughter]

### **President's Worst Moments**

**Reverend Hybels.** And then describe the lowest point, where you just said, “It doesn't get worse than this.”

**The President.** Well, obviously, one of them was my personal crisis, but we've already talked about that. So if you go beyond that, let me just mention a couple.

Somalia, when we lost 18 of our soldiers in Somalia in a firefight, where somewhere between 300 and 500 Somalis got killed. When our soldiers were asked—we were there—remember we went there to help because people were starving, but this political conflict was going on. And the U.N. had troops there, not just Americans. And a lot of you don't remember, I bet, what precipitated this. One of the factions in the Somalis fighting killed 22 Pakistani troops who were there with us for the United Nations. And the U.N. couldn't just walk away from that.

I mean, they ambushed them. They bush-whacked them and killed them.

So only the United States troops had the capacity to try to arrest those who were responsible. And I remember General Powell coming to me and asking for my approval for us to try. And he said, "I think we've got only a one-in-five, one-in-four chance of getting this guy alive, but we've got a one-in-two chance of some success."

But the people on the ground decided the that best thing to do was to launch an attack in broad daylight on this hotel. And when they did it, it turned out to be an unbelievably bloody battle under unbelievably adverse circumstances, and 18 of our guys died, and several hundred of theirs did. And it wasn't the sort of decision made in the way it should have been made by me, with our involvement. And I felt the sickest I have felt since I've been here. And they were very brave, they fought very well. I gave a couple of them the Medal of Honor, who were killed. They were unbelievable. But it was a terrible moment.

It was a terrible moment when those people were killed in Oklahoma City, because, if you remember, it came—there briefly people assumed that it was some sort of foreign terrorist—remember that—where they were trying to arrest a gentleman who was an Arab-American who was traveling on a plane out of the country. And I thank God for whatever it was that made me think to say to the American people, "Well, don't jump to conclusions here. This may not be what's going on."

And then when we found out what did go on, there was this terribly twisted, disturbed young man who had been affected by all this rhetoric that had been kind of seeping through the underground of America, about how inherently evil the Government and anybody who worked for it was, I just felt sick. I felt, what can we do—I just—and one of those people, by the way, who was killed in Oklahoma City, when I went down there to see his family, they showed me a picture of him at my inaugural. And I was talking to all these victims, and every one of them had a story; people have stories.

If you ever get a chance to go to the Oklahoma City Memorial, if you're ever within

a hundred miles of there, stop whatever you're doing and drive and go see it. It is the most effective memorial of its kind I have ever seen. But I just felt that there were forces at work in our society that made my words seem weak and inadequate. And I wanted to do something to try to heal the heart of the country, to go beyond sort of bigger than policies and bills and who was up and who was down. It was just unbelievable.

So those two things kind of stand out to me as really low moments. And I mention just personally, for my allies, I felt sick when the '94 congressional elections occurred, because I felt like those people bled for a decision that I got them to make. So I felt responsible for their losing their careers, even though I thought what we did was right for the country. And I think the future bore us out.

### ***President's Legacy***

***Reverend Hybels.*** What would you like to be remembered for?

***The President.*** I would like to be remembered for leading the country through a great period of transformation. This period is most like what happened at the turn of the last century, when Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson led America from an agricultural country into an industrial country and helped us to make the changes necessary in that context to reaffirm our commitment of opportunity for every responsible citizen and to realize, in that context, what our responsibilities to one another were, to have one national community.

And I would like to be remembered as the President that led America from the industrial era into the information age, into a new global society that reaffirmed the importance of our mutual responsibility to one another and the importance of guaranteeing an opportunity to everybody, and that I was a force for peace and freedom and decency in the world, that tried to bring people together instead of drive people apart, tried to empower poor people so they could have a chance like everybody else, and that tried to change the nature of our politics so we spent more time debating our ideas than trying to destroy our opponents and basically tried to lift us up

and move us on. That's how I'd like to be remembered.

### **The Presidency**

**Reverend Hybels.** One of the last times we were together, we were just taking a little stroll around the White House grounds, and you said, "Man, I'm going to miss this job." What are you going to miss about it?

**The President.** People ask me all the time, what are you going to miss the most? Will it be living in the White House, which is the best public housing in America—[laughter]—or going to Camp David, which is a pretty good vacation home, or getting on Air Force One, which relieves me of all the kind of screaming tedium that tests your faith every time you walk in an airport? [Laughter] But the truth is—or having the Marine Band play "Hail To The Chief" every time you walk in a room? [Laughter] I've had a couple of my predecessors tell me you feel lost when you walk in a room the first 4 or 5 months, and nobody plays the song anymore. [Laughter]

But what I will miss more than anything else is the job. I loved the job. I love it every day. My biggest problem now is I hate to go to sleep at night. I go to bed, and I sit there, and I read for hours. I just keep working. I'm trying to get everything done I can do before I leave. I have loved the work.

I wanted to be President at a time when I was very happy being the Governor of my State, very happy with the life that Hillary and Chelsea and I had in Arkansas, because I wanted to make some specific changes in the direction of the country. I had a very clear idea of what I wanted to do. And it is the most rewarding work you could ever imagine.

And believe it or not, it's a job like other jobs. I mean, it really matters how hard you work at it. It matters how smart you work at it. It matters whether you've got a good team helping you. I mean, it's not sort of like—sometimes I think it assumes proportions, the Presidency does, that are both too mythical and too trivial, as if it's all just positioning and politics. Not true. It's a job, like other jobs.

It matters what you think you're supposed to do. It matters whether you've got a strat-

egy to get there. It matters whether you've got a good team. And it matters how hard you work. And problems yield to effort, just like other jobs. And the work—I will miss the work.

And the other thing I'll really miss is the opportunity on a regular and consistent basis to come in contact with every conceivable kind of human being. I hope that I can find something to do when I leave office which will at least keep me in contact with different kinds of people who have different interests and know different things, from whom I can continue to learn and for whom I can continue to contribute.

But it was the job that I loved. Every day. Even the terrible days, I loved the work. People ask me all the time, "How did you survive all that?" I said, "I remembered who hired me." I got up in the morning and said, "At some level, Presidents aren't supposed to have feelings. They're supposed to be servants. They're supposed to remember who hired them. And you get 24 hours in a day, and you have to sleep a little, and you need to take time for your family and renewal, but otherwise, you need to be there for the American people."

And it's just been a joy. I can't even—I don't even have the words to describe how much I love the work.

### **Mission of Church Leaders**

**Reverend Hybels.** I just have a couple minutes left. There's many, many thousands of pastors here and at the satellite sites. And if I said, what challenge, what words of inspiration would you have for pastors? Is what they're doing important? How do you see it in the overall scheme of things?

**The President.** Well, first of all, I would say that I believe in what it is you're doing here, because every one of us who has a job that anybody ever held before we did is normally reluctant to admit we don't know everything we should know about how to do it. I mean, we think, well, everybody knows what the President does. Pick up a textbook. Everybody knows what a pastor does. I mean, you've got to pass the plate on Sunday; you've got to get enough money in to keep the church open; you've got to—[inaudible]. It's not true. There are ways to imagine what you



do that will dramatically increase your effectiveness in doing what God put you on Earth to do.

And what I would say is I think that—I wish I'd actually spent more time even than I have thinking about that in my work. And so I think—I'll go back to what I said—I think basically America works best when it's really strong at the grassroots. And that means that the role of community churches is pivotal.

The second thing I would say is, to everybody listening to me, we may have very different political views about certain issues, or maybe a lot of different political parties, but I think every church needs a mission that goes beyond its members. And I think that this church does, and I respect it very much.

I think that the words of Christ in St. Matthews about how we're all going to be judged in part by how we dealt toward the least of these is very important, especially in a time of extraordinary prosperity like this one.

And the final thing I would say is you asked me today about whether these pastors should minister to other politicians, and I said some things about politicians and their spiritual needs and me in mind. But that's really true of everyone.

One of the things I think that must be hardest—one of the most rewarding things I think about being a pastor, and yet one of the hardest things to remember, especially as you have some success, is that whether you have 20,000 members in your church or 200, they've all got a story, and they all have their needs, and they're all—they have a claim as a child of God to have a certain level of connection. And as you get bigger and more successful, you've got to figure out how to keep giving it to them, because nobody goes through this whole life without a slip or a turn or a scar or a challenge or something that seems just beyond their ability to cope with.

And so I think learning these leadership skills and thinking about what your job is—all I can tell you is that's what's kept me going for 8 years. I just kept thinking about the personal stories of all the people who touched me and reminded me of why I was supposed to show up every day.

I think if you can do that and have a mission that deals with your members as individuals and that goes beyond your members, I think America will be better. And I know that all of us who are involved in these endeavors will be better.

The last thing I want to say is—I used to say this about Al Gore all the time; I used to say, when I was being criticized, he doesn't get enough credit for what we did together that is good, and surely no fairminded person would blame him for any mistake that I made. I hope you'll feel that way about Hybels. I've got to make up for these two cuts I took him. *[Laughter]* He didn't fail in his ministry because I did. And what he did was good for America, because I needed somebody to talk to, to brace me up, and make me think about things in another way. It was a gift. It's something I'll treasure all my life. And for those of you who have whatever political or personal differences you have, I hope you will still believe that he did the right thing, because he did.

Thank you.

NOTE: The President spoke at 2:15 p.m. at the Willow Creek Community Church. In his remarks, he referred to Gordon McDonald, senior minister, Grace Chapel Congregation, Lexington, MA; Tony Campolo, associate pastor, Mt. Carmel Baptist Church, West Philadelphia, PA; Rev. J. Philip Wogaman, pastor, Foundry United Methodist Church, Washington, DC; President Saddam Hussein of Iraq; and Chairman Yasser Arafat of the Palestinian Authority.

### Statement on the “Older Americans 2000: Key Indicators of Well-Being” Report

August 10, 2000

Today I am pleased that a new study has been released that demonstrates that older Americans are healthier and prospering more than ever before. The findings of the Federal Interagency Forum on Aging-Related Statistics' report “Older Americans 2000: Key Indicators of Well-Being” shows that the life expectancy for Americans has increased by more than 20 years since 1990—women from 51 to 79 years old and men from 48 to 74 years old—and that the number of

older Americans living in poverty has decreased by nearly 25 percent since 1959.

These trends reinforce that our efforts over the last 7 years to strengthen Medicare and Social Security, while also paying down the debt, have been successful. However, there is still a tremendous amount to be done to ensure the well-being of all older Americans, which is becoming more critical as the baby-boomers approach their senior years. By 2030, one in five Americans, 70 million people, will be 65 years of age or older.

We need to prepare for the inevitable health and financial challenges that confront Medicare and Social Security. As an important first step in that direction, we should follow Vice President Gore's suggestion to take Medicare off budget. If we do, we will ensure that Medicare payroll taxes are only used for Medicare. We should also modernize and strengthen Medicare by making the program more competitive as well as providing for a long overdue and voluntary prescription drug benefit. I urge Congress to work this fall across party lines to improve our seniors' health security and pass these important reforms.

### **Remarks at a Dinner for Hillary Clinton in New York City**

*August 10, 2000*

First of all, I want to thank John and Margo and Dennis and Mike and Peter and everybody else that made this dinner possible tonight. And I'd like to thank Attorney General Spitzer and Comptroller McCall for coming. And all the rest of you, I thank you for being here for Hillary and for our country.

I can be quite brief, but I won't be. [Laughter] I will be. I will be. The only thing that I'm concerned about in this election is whether people really know what it is about and believe it's important. In over 200 years, the American people have almost always gotten it right when they had the facts and the time to digest them, and that's why we're all still around here, why it's still a great country. It's why we've done what we've done as a people and taken in wave after wave after wave of immigrants and met crisis

after crisis, challenge after challenge. Democracy actually works.

And we have to trust the people, if they know what it's about. And the only thing—as I said, what's concerned me is I have repeatedly seen stories to the effect that many people didn't think this was such a big election. I mean, after all, things are going so well, and you couldn't mess up the economy if you tried, so is it really a big deal? And then the second thing that's bothered me is I've seen lots of stories which indicate that people don't have any idea what the real differences are between the parties, the candidates for President, the candidates for the New York Senate race and other things.

A big story in *USA Today* about 3 weeks ago: What's the difference in the Vice President and Governor Bush's economic policy? A story just 10 days ago interviewing suburban women who favored greater gun safety legislation—our candidate had a six-point lead. And then when this polling outfit just read the positions of the two candidates—and by the way, they had nothing to do with either party; this was an independent polling outfit—they just said, "Okay, here's their positions"—they went from 45 to 39, to 57 to 29.

So what I want to say to you—you came here tonight; you've helped Hillary. I am profoundly grateful, and I want to say a few words about that. But every one of you has friends who are less political than you are. Every one of you has friends who may not even be active Democrats. You have networks of people you contact. And what I want to ask you to do is to remind people that this is a big election. And how many times in your lifetime have you a chance to vote in an election solely on the basis of how we can use this astonishing prosperity and social progress and national self-confidence to build the future of our dreams for our kids? It may never happen again in your lifetime. So to pretend that this is like a no-consequence election because we don't feel like we're on the edge of a cliff about to be pushed off, I think is a grave error.

The second thing I want to say is, there are huge differences. And we mustn't be shy in pointing out to the best of our ability what we think those honest differences are. We

don't have to say bad things about our adversaries, but we do have to say what the differences are.

It tickles me—a lot of these folks that spent years kind of attacking their opponents, now act like the Democrats are being negative if they just point out what the voting record was. [Laughter] It's like, "How dare you do something so mean. I have a right to keep from the people what my positions are." [Laughter]

So we have to create a climate here where we have a good old-fashioned election: no personal destruction; no personal attacks; an honest effort to identify what the major issues are, what the stakes are, and what the differences are; and just trust the people.

And I can just tell you that there are massive differences on economic policy, on crime policy, on education policy, on the environment, on health care policy, on a woman's right to choose, and the appointment of judges and the ratification of judges, the approval in the Senate. And the American people need to know what they're doing here. And we just need to trust them. But you need to help us with clarity of choice.

The second thing I'd like to say in asking Hillary to come up here is that I'm actually very proud of her for doing this after all we've been through the last 8 years, and most of it's been quite wonderful. But all our friends who leave the White House and go back to private life tell us that they don't even get out of physical pain for about 6 months—[laughter]—that they had no idea how tired they were until they left. And we were looking forward to spending the last year making all these trips together, having people come into the White House. And it's wonderful to have our daughter home, and she can come campaign with Hillary and make a few trips with me. But we wanted to have this last year just to celebrate the millennial year and have more of these lectures that Hillary organized and celebrate the preservation of our natural heritage.

And instead, she decided, for the first time in 30 years, to actually get in and run for herself instead of help somebody else do it. And she did it after a half a dozen or so New York House Members came and asked her to consider doing it and then traveling all

over the State and concluding that the work that she'd done all of her adult life is basically the kind of thing that New York needs and wants now.

And I just want to remind you of a few things. First of all, when I met her in 1971, in the springtime, she was already completely obsessed with the issues of children and families, and she took an extra year in law school to work at the Yale Child Study Center and the children's ward of the Yale University hospital, so that when she got a law degree she would actually have detailed knowledge about health, psychological, and other issues relating to children and their parents.

Secondly, the first job she ever had was for a group that became the Children's Defense Fund.

Thirdly, when she came home to Arkansas to be with me, she—and we helped Jimmy Carter get elected President—she became the youngest chair ever of the Legal Services Corporation to try to provide legal aid to poor people.

Then when I became Governor, she helped to establish a neonatal nursery at the Children's Hospital in our home State, what my predecessor affectionately, or not so affectionately, referred to as a small Southern State. By the time we left—Hillary ran all the fundraising every year for the Children's Hospital, did all that. By the time we left office, the Arkansas Children's Hospital was the seventh biggest children's hospital in the United States of America.

And after she became First Lady, she has worked on dramatically improving the adoption laws, making it easier for people to do cross-racial adoptions, getting a \$5,000 tax credit for people who adopt children with disabilities, doing more for children who age out of foster care—a really big issue in New York State, a huge issue—doing more to give health insurance for children, doing more to promote child care and to deal with the challenges of early childhood.

There's really—I doubt very seriously that any person has ever been First Lady who's had the range of detailed involvement and interests she has. And along the way, she wrote a best selling book and gave 100 percent of the profits away to children's charity.

And in 30 years, all she ever did was try to help other people. Every year I was Governor, she gave away lots and lots of income to help other people. This is the first time she's ever, ever done anything where she was asking people to help her. And all I can tell you is, in the over 30 years now I've been involved in politics in one way or another, I have worked with hundreds of people that I liked and admired, that I thought were gifted, patriotic, and devoted. There is no question, even though you can say, well, I'm biased, and I'll get a better night's sleep if I say this—[laughter]—but I'm just telling you, I love my country enough to say that even though I'm kind of missing this last year that we had looked forward to, I'm glad she's doing it. Because of all the people I've ever known, I have never known anybody that had the same combination of mind and heart and knowledge and organizational ability and constancy—constancy—I'm talking about 30 years of constancy—that she has.

So if you will get her elected, she will be a magnificent Senator. And all these people who wonder whether they should be for her now because—why is she doing this now, and why is she doing it in New York—after she's been there about 60 days, they will never have another question. They will never have another question.

So what you've got to do is get out here and stir around and tell people that. Tell people what the differences are between her and her opponent and what the two parties' differences are and personally validate what you see and know. And if you do, she's going to win. And it won't be long until everybody else will think they voted for her, too. [Laughter]

Thank you very much. Please come up, Hillary.

NOTE: The President spoke at 10:07 p.m. at a private residence. In his remarks, he referred to dinner hosts John and Margo Catsimatidis; dinner cohosts Dennis Mehiel, Michael Sherman, and Panayiotis (Peter) Papanicolaou; New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer; New York State Comptroller H. Carl McCall; and Republican Presidential nominee Gov. George W. Bush of Texas.

## Statement on Electronic Claims for Health Care Transactions

August 11, 2000

Every day, tens of thousands of health claims are submitted to insurers and other payers by our Nation's health care providers. These billing forms are often incomprehensible, inconsistent, and duplicative, frequently serving little useful purpose. They waste the time and financial resources of our talented health care professionals and can result in higher premiums and lower quality of care.

With today's release of new national standards for electronic claims for health care transactions, we are taking a major step towards eliminating burdensome, time-consuming, and wasteful paperwork that costs the Nation's health care system billions of dollars each year. In fact, the Department of Health and Human Services estimates that these administrative simplification regulations will achieve a net savings to the health care system of nearly \$30 billion over the next 10 years.

As we use our new technology to streamline our health care system, we will maintain our absolute commitment to protect the sanctity and privacy of medical records. The standards we are releasing today will be required to be implemented consistent with the privacy regulation that we will be finalizing later this year.

Today's action is a win for patients and health care providers alike. When we save money from the health care system, we succeed in keeping premiums down. When we reduce paperwork requirements on our physicians, they have more time to spend with their patients. Improving quality, eliminating wasteful spending, and maintaining our values should be the goals we strive to achieve in health care and every public policy we pursue. I believe that we are achieving all three goals with the release of today's new standard.

## **Statement on the Workforce Investment Act**

*August 11, 2000*

Two years ago this week I signed the bipartisan Workforce Investment Act (WIA), launching an historic initiative that Vice President Gore and I first proposed in 1992 as a way to streamline and bring greater accountability to our Nation's job training system. Today, with these reforms underway in all 50 States, we reach another key milestone by adopting the final rule implementing the major provisions of this landmark act. I congratulate our Federal partners, Congress, the States, local communities, businesses, and American workers on how far we have come.

Largely as a result of WIA's reforms, States now have established 1,200 One-Stop Career Centers to provide job seekers and employers in each community with a single, customer-focused point of entry to a wide range of employment services. Developed with extensive input from the many people with a stake in our job training system, the final rule provides additional direction to State and local partners while preserving their planning and operating flexibility. The rule also gives State and local partners guidance on creating individual training accounts that allow workers to choose the training that meets their needs.

Unfortunately, currently proposed congressional funding for workforce development programs, including the administration's Fathers Work/Families Win initiative, falls far short of the amount needed both by American businesses to meet the growing demand for skilled workers and by working families to gain access to lifelong learning. WIA provides broad access to employment opportunities, often for people with disabilities or others who have been excluded, and it should be properly funded. I call on Congress to fully fund the bipartisan program it passed 2 years ago so that all Americans can participate in today's era of economic opportunity. With WIA up and running across the country, now is the time to invest in the system we built together.

## **Executive Order 13166—Improving Access to Services for Persons With Limited English Proficiency**

*August 11, 2000*

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, and to improve access to federally conducted and federally assisted programs and activities for persons who, as a result of national origin, are limited in their English proficiency (LEP), it is hereby ordered as follows:

### **Section 1. Goals.**

The Federal Government provides and funds an array of services that can be made accessible to otherwise eligible persons who are not proficient in the English language. The Federal Government is committed to improving the accessibility of these services to eligible LEP persons, a goal that reinforces its equally important commitment to promoting programs and activities designed to help individuals learn English. To this end, each Federal agency shall examine the services it provides and develop and implement a system by which LEP persons can meaningfully access those services consistent with, and without unduly burdening, the fundamental mission of the agency. Each Federal agency shall also work to ensure that recipients of Federal financial assistance (recipients) provide meaningful access to their LEP applicants and beneficiaries. To assist the agencies with this endeavor, the Department of Justice has today issued a general guidance document (LEP Guidance), which sets forth the compliance standards that recipients must follow to ensure that the programs and activities they normally provide in English are accessible to LEP persons and thus do not discriminate on the basis of national origin in violation of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended, and its implementing regulations. As described in the LEP Guidance, recipients must take reasonable steps to ensure meaningful access to their programs and activities by LEP persons.

### **Sec. 2. Federally Conducted Programs and Activities.**

Each Federal agency shall prepare a plan to improve access to its federally conducted

programs and activities by eligible LEP persons. Each plan shall be consistent with the standards set forth in the LEP Guidance, and shall include the steps the agency will take to ensure that eligible LEP persons can meaningfully access the agency's programs and activities. Agencies shall develop and begin to implement these plans within 120 days of the date of this order, and shall send copies of their plans to the Department of Justice, which shall serve as the central repository of the agencies' plans.

**Sec. 3. Federally Assisted Programs and Activities.**

Each agency providing Federal financial assistance shall draft title VI guidance specifically tailored to its recipients that is consistent with the LEP Guidance issued by the Department of Justice. This agency-specific guidance shall detail how the general standards established in the LEP Guidance will be applied to the agency's recipients. The agency-specific guidance shall take into account the types of services provided by the recipients, the individuals served by the recipients, and other factors set out in the LEP Guidance. Agencies that already have developed title VI guidance that the Department of Justice determines is consistent with the LEP Guidance shall examine their existing guidance, as well as their programs and activities, to determine if additional guidance is necessary to comply with this order. The Department of Justice shall consult with the agencies in creating their guidance and, within 120 days of the date of this order, each agency shall submit its specific guidance to the Department of Justice for review and approval. Following approval by the Department of Justice, each agency shall publish its guidance document in the *Federal Register* for public comment.

**Sec. 4. Consultations.**

In carrying out this order, agencies shall ensure that stakeholders, such as LEP persons and their representative organizations, recipients, and other appropriate individuals or entities, have an adequate opportunity to provide input. Agencies will evaluate the par-

ticular needs of the LEP persons they and their recipients serve and the burdens of compliance on the agency and its recipients. This input from stakeholders will assist the agencies in developing an approach to ensuring meaningful access by LEP persons that is practical and effective, fiscally responsible, responsive to the particular circumstances of each agency, and can be readily implemented.

**Sec. 5. Judicial Review.**

This order is intended only to improve the internal management of the executive branch and does not create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable at law or equity by a party against the United States, its agencies, its officers or employees, or any person.

**William J. Clinton**

The White House,  
August 11, 2000.

[Filed with the Office of the Federal Register,  
8:45 a.m., August 15, 2000]

NOTE: This Executive order will be published in the *Federal Register* on August 16.

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## Digest of Other White House Announcements

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The following list includes the President's public schedule and other items of general interest announced by the Office of the Press Secretary and not included elsewhere in this issue.

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### August 5

In the afternoon, the President traveled from Martha's Vineyard, MA, to Hyannis Port, MA. Later, he returned to Martha's Vineyard.

### August 7

In the evening, the President and Hillary Clinton returned to Washington, DC.

**August 8**

In the morning, the President traveled to Burgdorf Junction, ID.

In the evening, the President traveled to Charlottesville, VA, where he attended a Democratic National Committee dinner. Later, he returned to Washington, DC, arriving after midnight.

The President announced his intention to appoint Martha Choe as Chair of the Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders.

The President announced his intention to appoint Shelby White as a member of the Cultural Property Advisory Committee.

**August 9**

In the afternoon, the President met with President Stjepan Mesic and Prime Minister Ivica Racan of Croatia in the Oval Office.

In the evening, the President traveled to McLean, VA. Later, he returned to Washington, DC.

**August 10**

In the morning, the President traveled to Chicago, IL, and in the evening, he traveled to New York City. Later, the President and Hillary Clinton returned to Washington, DC, arriving after midnight.

**August 11**

In the afternoon, the President traveled to Los Angeles, CA.

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**Nominations  
Submitted to the Senate**


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NOTE: No nominations were submitted to the Senate during the period covered by this issue.

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**Checklist  
of White House Press Releases**


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The following list contains releases of the Office of the Press Secretary that are neither printed as items nor covered by entries in the Digest of Other White House Announcements.

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**Released August 9**

Transcript of a press briefing by Press Secretary Joe Lockhart

Statement by the Press Secretary on the Presidential Medal of Freedom recipients

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**Acts Approved  
by the President**


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**Approved August 7**

S. 2327 / Public Law 106–256  
Oceans Act of 2000

**Approved August 8**

S. 1629 / Public Law 106–257  
Oregon Land Exchange Act of 2000

S. 1910 / Public Law 106–258  
To amend the Act establishing Women's Rights National Historical Park to permit the Secretary of the Interior to acquire title in fee simple to the Hunt House located in Waterloo, New York

**Approved August 9**

H.R. 4576 / Public Law 106–259  
Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2001